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Becoming a Teacher an ethnographic study

Volume I of II

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DECLARATION

Some of the material on micro-teaching and the analysis of student teachers' micro-lessons in Chapter 4 has been included in

Stowell, M (1985) Negotiating professional socialisation the case of student teachers, Warwick Working Papers in Sociology, No 9, University of Warwick

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SYNOPSIS

This ethnographic study of the professional studies year of a Bachelor of Education course in a College of Higher Education aims to understand teacher education as a process of professional socialisation. The study starts from the recognition that our present understanding of the process of teacher socialisation is limited - theoretically, conceptually and empirically - despite considerable recent developments in the sociological understanding of school and classroom processes. By taking an interactionist/ethnographic approach to the study of the process of becoming a teacher, attention is drawn to the negotiated character of professional socialisation, and the similarities and differences in student teachers' experiences and perceptions of what it is to be a teacher. The study is concerned with the social processes and experiences of teacher education: the subjective perceptions, feelings, interests and understandings of individuals and their creative and strategic adaptations in response to perceived circumstances.

The study finds student teachers actively constructing perspectives, strategies and identities as potential teachers, a process involving conflicts and contradictions, taking place within a social context which imposes constraints on individual action. Conceptualising the professional socialisation process as a critical phase of 'survival' in which student teachers must learn to cope, the study documents the necessity for strategic negotiation, accommodation and resistance to ensure success in the teacher education course. The particular difficulties of initial encounters with pupils and student teacher's relationships with teachers on school experience are discussed. The study also examines the power relations involved in teacher education, particularly those concerning the 'hidden pedagogy' of control and its relation to assessments of teacher competence.

INTRODUCTION

This study is about student teachers and college tutors engaged in an initial teacher education course in a College of Higher Education, referred to under the pseudonym of Haydon Park College. It sets out to open up the sociological study of teacher education by drawing upon the theoretical and conceptual insights generated by the application of interactionist and phenomenological sociological perspectives and the use of ethnographic approaches to the study of classroom interaction and school processes. The study seeks to analyse the experiences, perceptions and intentions of student teachers and their college tutors at a 'critical phase' of teacher socialisation. What is involved in becoming a teacher? How do student teachers perceive and experience teaching? How do they cope with the stresses and strains of school and college life? How do they relate to college tutors, school teachers and pupils? What is 'competent' teaching? It is the purpose of this study to address such questions in order to reveal something of the conflicts and contradictions inherent in the process of teacher education.

The research derives from personal and professional interests in both teacher education and the sociology of education, and a conviction that the latter can help us understand aspects of the former. As a recently-qualified and inexperienced teacher about to embark on research in 1980, I was acutely aware of the limitations of my own professional socialisation sharing, in some part, the concern for practicality and relevance to the real world of teaching.

documented in many studies of new teachers (Morrison and McIntyre, 1973, Taylor and Dale, 1971, Petty and Hogben, 1980) At the same time, I held a sociological scepticism about the then-mounting media and political criticism of teaching 'standards' which in the 1980s, fuelled by HMI publications, increasingly focused on the 'quality' and 'efficiency' of teacher education

It was very apparent, however, that sociology - so influential within the teacher education curriculum - was contributing little to the debates about teacher education There was a long-standing lack of explicitly sociological interest (Wax and Wax, 1971, Atkinson and Delamont, 1985), which reflected the sociologically underdeveloped and neglected state of relevant research on teacher socialisation There did exist, however, a considerable body of research relating to the selection and training of teachers (see chapter 1), but this was firmly within a positivistic tradition of research which contributed little to our understanding of professional socialisation as a process

Developments within the sociology of education in the 1970s drew critical attention to both macro issues of educational policy and micro issues of teacher-pupil interaction processes The latter, often referred to as the 'new sociology of education', had generated a concern with the process of schooling in terms of interaction, perspectives, strategies and subcultures A growing number of ethnographic studies of schools and classrooms focused attention on the way in which teachers and pupils adapt to, make sense of - and thus construct - school life This examination of the

everyday life of teachers and pupils served to challenge much of what had previously been taken for granted in the world of education by policy-makers, educationists and sociologists

The potential of such insights for an understanding of the process of teacher education, however, has not been realised. We still have a very limited knowledge of how people become teachers, and of the effects the process of teacher education has on recruits to the profession. This study fills that gap in our understanding, by using the interactionist/ethnographic model of sociological research to examine key aspects of the process of professional socialisation. The study follows in that tradition of educational research which takes as its focus subjective processes (Hargreaves, 1967, Lacey, 1970, Ball, 1981, Burgess, 1983, Beynon, 1985). The research concentrates on the preparation for, and the impact of, school experience on student teachers as a context for the development of perspectives and strategies relating to pedagogy, classroom control, relationships with school staff and the establishment of a teacher self. It is hoped that the study will not only contribute to our sociological understanding of education and professional processes, but will also facilitate a more socially reflective stance to the pragmatic and policy issues of teacher education.

Organisation of the thesis

The thesis begins by setting out the background to the present study, providing an outline of the theoretical and methodological framework and a review of the relevant literature. The discussion of the research traditions to which the present study is related serves to locate its central concerns. Chapter 2 provides details of the field-work: the research setting and the data collection techniques. Chapter 3 focuses on the pedagogical perspectives of the professional studies tutors and the student teachers at the start of the professional studies year. By describing and analysing the assumptions which underlie the students' first attempts at 'teaching' and the tutors' responses, attention is drawn to the negotiated character of professional education - a theme which runs through the whole thesis. In Chapter 4, by contrast, the focus is on the student teachers' first experiences of 'real' teaching with 'real kids in real classrooms'. Here the similarities and differences in students' experiences are analysed in this first crucial test of their claim to teacher status.

The next three chapters focus on the process of 'learning to cope'. Chapter 5 shows how learning to cope rapidly becomes centred on the student teacher's ability to control noisy pupils. The problem of routine pupil-initiated noise for classroom control is considered in some detail. Chapter 6 focuses on initial encounters and the students' attempts to negotiate the process of establishment. The difficulties

involved in this process frequently result in student teachers experiencing teaching as a 'battle' Chapter 7 draws together some of the themes discussed in the previous chapters by focusing on students' own definitions of coping success and failure via an analysis of self interests which shape their teacher perspectives The students' goal of achieving 'good' teacher-pupil relationships and the difficulties in managing the teacher role to establish a 'proper' teacher identity are analysed to examine the conflicts and contradictions of maintaining commitment

The final two chapters present a reassessment of sociological understanding of teacher education by considering the role and perspective of the professional studies tutors, and student teachers' relationships with school staff respectively Chapter 8 examines the processes and typifications involved in the assessment of student teachers' teaching competence and the placement of students for school experience

The hidden pedagogy and its assumptions regarding classroom control are seen as central to these processes This chapter also draws attention to the way in which the appraisal of teaching competence is, at least in part, based on judgements about students' personal and social qualities This particular issue is taken further in Chapter 9 where student teachers' perceptions of their relationships with school staff are considered Attention is drawn to the variation in support given by school staff, the unspoken rules governing supervision of student teachers' school experience and the ability of student teachers to resist such criticism as is perceived to be an attack on

their self-esteem by questioning the 'professionalism' of the teachers. Finally the conclusion considers the major themes raised by the study together with some implications for further research and policy concerns.

CHAPTER 1

THE RESEARCH IN CONTEXT

The theoretical framework which informs this study is derived from symbolic interactionism and phenomenology. These sociological perspectives are often associated in research terms with the ethnographic tradition which favours the use of qualitative methods. It is the purpose of this chapter to provide an account of these traditions, together with a review of relevant literature in order to place the study in context, and sketch out its guiding concepts.

The theoretical and conceptual background to the study

The study draws upon the theoretical insights generated by the application of interactionist and phenomenological perspectives to the study of educational settings. As a sociological perspective, symbolic interactionism holds three basic premises:

- 1 human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them
 - 2 these meanings are a product of social interaction in human society
 - 3 these meanings are modified and handled through an interpretive process that is used by each person in dialogue with the things he/she encounters
- (Meltzer et al , 1975, p 54)

The interactionist model, derived from the writings of Mead (1934), regards social life as socially constructed. Mead placed the self at the centre of social interaction, and looked at the active role the self played in constructing and making sense of the world. People are regarded as acting on the basis of meanings and understandings which they

develop through interaction with others. Social interaction is viewed as a process in which actors are concerned to define and re-define the situation through impression management, negotiation and the deployment of strategies. From this perspective, human action is not seen as fully determined by social, cultural or psychological forces, rather such forces are seen to be mediated in their impact by processes of interpretation and interaction. On the basis of subjective meanings derived from interaction processes in specific contexts, individuals assess situations, make choices and decisions, and adopt strategies of action. This means human action cannot adequately be explained in terms of attitudes or roles or social structure. 'It is the interpretation that counts as far as outcomes are concerned, and therefore people's own thoughts and evaluations, not instinct, nor simply the "objective" reality of the situation' (Woods, 1983, p 3). Given this understanding of social life, interactionists are interested in discovering the intentions and motives, different constructions of meaning and definitions of situations which lie behind action. For the interactionist interested in education, the central task is to examine the social world from the participants' point of view by focusing on their assumptions, perceptions and interactions. This involves a concern with, for example, the socially constructed nature of teachers' and pupils' perspectives, how teachers and pupils attribute meaning to social situations and the ways in which they define educational activities.

Although, as Ball (1986) points out, phenomenology is often confused, or even identified with interactionism, in

many ways it is different. Nevertheless a number of researchers studying educational settings have, intentionally or unintentionally, combined interactionism and phenomenology (Hargreaves et al , 1975, Pollard, 1985a). Accordingly, the dominant theoretical framework of this study is interactionism, but it also draws upon the complementary insights of Schutzian phenomenology. Schutz (1972) was concerned with the intersubjective nature of the social world, the shared assumptions and taken-for-granted knowledge which organises and constrains the process of interaction. Phenomenology concentrates on the ways in which people's thoughts and actions are structured through the use of typifications, recipe knowledge, idealisations, relevance structures and so on. In short, the common-sense knowledge individuals use to make sense of the world. In focusing on micro-sociological aspects of social life, phenomenology can be regarded as complementary to interactionist perspectives. It is with this in mind that we turn to a discussion of the key concepts informing this study.

The application of interactionist perspectives to the analysis of school and classroom processes was pioneered in Britain in the 1960s, and since that time there has been considerable development - both empirically and theoretically - in our understanding of school life from an interactionist perspective. Woods (1983) has attempted to bring this work together by setting out the key concepts of an interactionist approach to schooling. These are contexts, perspectives, cultures, strategies, negotiation and career. A brief consideration of these six concepts follows, as they provide the conceptual grounding for the present study.

CONTEXTS Interaction takes place within given contexts or situations which have both a determining and enabling effect on action. Schools and other educational institutions consist of a number of different contexts and situations. These are not simply the scene of action, for situations are interpreted by actors, and thus the way in which situations are defined and re-defined is central to interactionist understanding (Thomas, 1928). In this way, the perspectives and actions of participants in a social situation are always related to their immediate context. This logic is, however, the source of one of the main criticisms of the interactionist perspective, for it tells us little about the macro-social and historical factors which produce the context. In analysing the social context of interaction we must be aware of its different 'levels' from the widest macro-societal level through to the institutional (Pollard, 1982, 1983) and the more physical and temporal settings (Delamont, 1983).

This study has not set out to present a systematic analysis of the social context of teacher socialisation - that would be a massive task in itself - consequently, the balance of analysis is towards micro situational factors. However, it is important not to lose sight of the wider context within which teacher socialisation takes place, and thus this study raises questions about the differential weight given to social structure, social policy, ideology, 'institutional bias', biography, personal commitment and identity (Woods, 1985) in explanations of teacher behaviour and educational processes - in this case specifically student teacher behaviour and the process of professional socialisation.

PERSPECTIVES Perspectives are, 'the frameworks through which people make sense of the world' (Woods, 1983, p 7). It is in relation to perspectives that actors define situations and construct realities. The concept derives from the work of Becker et al (1961) and originally included actions and action-idea systems. These are now generally excluded and subsumed under the notion of strategy (Lacey,

1977, Woods, 1983) The concept of perspective thus relates to ideas, assumptions and beliefs which might shape action With reference to teacher socialisation, the concept of perspective is central for, as Lacey (1977) explains, socialisation may not be simply a process of selectively acquiring new values and attitudes In the case of teachers, it may be that most values and attitudes are known to them before they become teachers, from classroom experience as pupils, for example The change comes from the relationship to the classroom, which means situations 'are both seen and interpreted in a new way' Teacher socialisation therefore involves the process of developing a teacher perspective It is the development of such a perspective with which this study is particularly concerned

CULTURES Perspectives derive from cultures which develop when people come together and develop between themselves a distinctive 'way of life' - 'ways of doing things and not doing things, forms of talk and speech patterns, subjects of conversation, rules and codes of conduct and behaviour, values and beliefs, arguments and understandings' (Woods, 1983, p 8) Within schools and other educational institutions, there exists a variety of sub-cultures, some of which are formed in opposition to formal school sub-cultures (Lacey, 1970, Hargreaves, 1967) At the same time, it is possible to identify a more generalised occupational culture of teachers, representing their unchanging interests and concerns (Hargreaves, 1980, Woods, 1983) It is within these sub-cultures, and in relation to the wider occupational culture of teachers that student teachers have to create their own teacher identities In this way, cultures are both constraining and enabling 'teacher culture can enable the new recruit to get by, by pointing him to certain strategies that have stood the test of time But it can also inhibit him if he allows his own initiative to be subsumed under it' (Woods, 1980a, p 22)

A number of writers use the concept of latent culture in understanding constraints within the process of professional socialisation (Becker et al , 1961, Lacey, 1977, Mardle and Walker, 1980) Mardle and Walker (1980) argue this concept helps solve a problem of interactionist theory, namely 'accounting for the degree to which accumulated past definitions, negotiations and interpretations act as limiting and structuring features of any present encounter' (p 101) In terms of learning to teach, Mardle and Walker argue it is continued exposure to the hidden curriculum of schooling, and the commonsense assumptions by which it is rationalised, that forms the core of teacher socialisation These issues are taken up and developed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7

STRATEGIES Perspectives, derived from cultures, are related to action through strategies As Woods (1983) says, this concept is rapidly coming to be regarded as central to interactionist sociology, for it is where individual intention and external constraint meet (Hargreaves, 1978, 1979, 1980, Pollard, 1980, 1982) Basic to interactionism is a view of active human beings managing and coping, constantly checking and re-orienting thoughts and intentions in line with expectations and opportunities, and adjusting action according to the situation and external pressures Such a view focuses attention on strategic action One of the most explicit explanations of the concept of strategy is offered by Beynon (1985 p 22)

[Strategies] can best be defined as packages of tactics to further specific or general immediate or long-term aims They can operate within the regulative or instructional contexts, or both simultaneously, and can be unique to individual teachers, pupils, kinds of teaching and subjects, or to be found across the whole staff or pupil body They relate to the time of year, place, purpose, personal and professional beliefs and resources, and are the means whereby both teachers and pupils accommodate to the structural, material and interactional demands of schooling When they become outdated, new versions are developed Moreover, strategies link perspectives and cultures to actions,

wishes and intentions to resources and constraints. Different 'arenas' (for example, classrooms, prisons, asylums) shape, and are shaped by, the strategies actors adopt to establish roles within them. They are further shaped by factors such as architecture, physical resources, colleagues' practices and, in the case of teaching, subject and cultural loyalties, the 'philosophy' of a particular school, and the time of year. They are the means by which teachers manage to live with the gross immediacy of classroom events and teacher isolation which characterise most schools and which cut them off in their own classroom from colleagues and the support usually available to professional and quasi-professional groups.

Here, Beynon makes clear both the contextual and the constructed nature of strategies, and their relationship to biography, perspective, culture and external constraint. Strategic action is a creative response of an individual to his or her situation. Strategies are shaped by context and by the meanings and definitions attributed to the situation deriving from actors' perspectives. Strategies are at the same time means by which individuals adapt to and cope with situations and the means by which interests and intentions are secured. For this reason the term 'coping strategy' is frequently used by sociologists studying classroom interaction.

NEGOTIATION Another concept central to the interactionist approach is that of negotiation, the process by which everyday realities are defined and re-defined in interaction. School work and classroom life, in their widest senses, are continuously negotiated via strategies in order to maximise the different participants' interests and reach a 'working consensus'. This refers to the mutually negotiated and interdependent understandings between teacher and pupils which structure the routine of classroom life (Pollard, 1985a). The level of consensus is variable. Where participants in a social situation share common understandings and accept the validity of each other's definitions it will be strong, but where there is disagreement, consensus will be weak. Recognition of this has led to a consideration of strategies used to resolve problems arising when definitions of the situation are in conflict. Given the differences in status

and power between student teachers, college tutors, teachers and pupils met on school experience, the process of teacher socialisation is likely to necessitate strategic negotiation on the part of student teachers. These issues are taken up in Chapters 6 and 9.

CAREER A career is normally regarded as 'a succession of related jobs arranged in a hierarchy of prestige, through which persons move in an ordered, predictable sequence' (Wilensky, 1960, p 127). However, for the interactionist, it is the subjective aspects of experience which are focused upon, as Hughes (1937, p 409) says 'the moving perspective in which the person sees his life as a whole'. Clearly this study is concerned with the start of the teacher career and the establishment of that 'moving perspective'. Two important aspects of careers are 'commitment' and 'identity'. 'the ways in which teachers achieve, maintain and develop their identity, their sense of self, in and through a career, are of vital significance in understanding the actions and commitments of teachers in their work' (Ball and Goodson, 1985, p 18). It is this insight, developed in Pollard's (1982) model of coping strategies, which allows us to gain some understanding of the 'survival' problem facing student teachers, its implications for action and the formation of strategies in the teacher education process.

The concepts outlined above have provided researchers with an increasingly sensitive and sophisticated understanding of the processes of schooling, and consequently of teachers and teaching, pupils and learning. However, almost all the research drawing upon an interactionist perspective focuses on classrooms - and occasionally staffrooms - peopled by experienced or newly qualified teachers, and school age pupils, and thus the concepts discussed above have rarely been used to analyse teacher education.¹ This study takes the key

concepts of the interactionist framework to address the process of teacher socialisation. In so doing, the concepts shaped the formation of the research questions, the focus of the data collection and the analysis of the data. It is hoped this approach both advances sociological understanding of a substantive area frequently neglected in the sociology of education and raises further questions of both an empirical and theoretical nature. This however, is to neglect the question of methodology, to which we now turn.

The methodological background to the study

The sociological perspective of interactionism, particularly when applied to the study of education, is frequently linked with the methodological approach known as ethnography, such that one recent researcher refers to the symbolic interactionist/ethnography model (Beynon, 1985). This study, in line with a developing tradition in the sociology of education, is also founded on that model and thus attempts to provide an ethnographic study of aspects of the teacher socialisation process.

The essence of the ethnographic method of enquiry is clearly stated by Hargreaves and Woods (1984, p 1)

It aims to bring to life by close observation and/or depth interview the internal workings of an institution or culture, to reveal the perspectives of its members, to highlight the constraints that they work under, the kinds of adaptations they make as a result, and to make explicit the routine and taken-for-granted features of institutional life on which orderly management may depend.

The emphasis of study is on the negotiation of everyday life in naturally occurring settings. The focus is subjective

interpretations and the process of interaction Ethnographic enquiry is therefore frequently aligned with interactionism and other 'interpretive' perspectives, but it can and has been employed in very different theoretical frameworks This reflects the disparate traditions which have been influential in establishing ethnography as a valid methodology

Atkinson and Delamont (1980) have documented the way in which the ethnography of schooling in Britain and America is rooted in sociological and anthropological orientations respectively, two traditions which have rarely been used to inform one another Hargreaves and Woods (1984) also cite anthropology with its insistence on viewing social life through the eyes of its participants as an important influence, along with Chicago school interactionism which utilised 'ethnographic' techniques to study street gangs, delinquents and the homeless in the early years of this century, and ethnomethodology with its concern for the common-sense rules of social order In the study of education they single out as particular early antecedents of ethnographic studies, social psychological work on teacher typifications and self fulfilling prophecies, the deschoolers' radical critique of 'education', socio-linguistic analyses of classroom discourse, as well as the organisational studies of schools in the tradition represented by the work of Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970) These studies were among the first in Britain to apply an interactionist perspective and an ethnographic approach to the study of schools and classrooms

Since interactionism is primarily concerned with the process of interaction in which the individuals involved are

regarded as actively interpreting and thus constructing social reality, it follows that the research process must try to share and understand the meanings and interpretations of individuals and social groups. The researcher sets out to describe the perspectives and points of view of those involved in the social situation as accurately as possible. This is central to ethnography. At its simplest, ethnography involves the researcher in describing the shared culture of a group of people in a way as faithful as possible to the way they see it themselves. This requires the researcher to engage in detailed observation of situations, events, groups and individuals, as well as careful participation and conversation with individuals who participate in those situations, events and groups. In this way the ethnographer sets out to understand the interpretive procedures used by actors in their everyday lives, an understanding to be reached by taking the stance of 'anthropological strangeness' in order to sensitise the researcher to the taken-for-granted assumptions which sustain individuals' views of the world. Rather than entering the research situation with a clearly defined set of categories for which validation is sought, the ethnographer's approach is to record the situated perspectives and actions of participants and generate sociological explanations 'grounded' in the data to account for them (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

The term 'ethnography', although now widely used in the sociological literature, is the source of some confusion and ambiguity (Wolcott, 1982, Burgess, 1984a, 1984b). This reflects a general confusion over distinctions between

methodology, research methods and research techniques (Burgess and Bulmer, 1981) Accordingly, the term 'ethnographic' has been variously used to describe a methodology, a set of research methods or research techniques, a research strategy, data itself or a form of analysis Furthermore, the term is frequently used interchangeably with those of 'fieldwork', 'case-study', 'qualitative research', 'interpretive procedures' and 'field research' (Burgess, 1984a) A loose definition and usage of the term ethnography to describe a particular research style is probably less restrictive than a precise definition with a particular emphasis Moreover it allows us to recognise the importance of the inter-relationship of theories, problems, methodologies and techniques to the research process (Burgess, 1986b) In this sense, my understanding of the term reflects that of Schatzman and Strauss (1973) and Burgess (1982) who regard 'field method' as an 'umbrella of activity' beneath which the researcher can 'blend together a wide range of methods to address the problem that is to be investigated' (Burgess, 1985a, p 4) This means the ethnographer or field researcher is

a methodological pragmatist He sees any method of enquiry as a system of strategies and operations designed - at any time - for getting answers to certain questions about events which interest him He understands that every method has built-in capabilities and limitations that are revealed in practice (through the techniques used, for given purposes and with various results), evaluated in part against what could have been gained or learned by any other method or set of techniques Also, he understands that a method of enquiry is adequate when its operations are logically consistent with the questions being asked, when it adapts to the special characteristic of the thing or event being examined, and when its operations provide information, evidence, and even simply perspective that bear upon the questions being posed

(Schatzman and Strauss, 1973, p 7)

Although the conventional understanding of ethnography is linked to the use of participant observation and in-depth interviews as research techniques, the ethnographer as methodological pragmatist is also likely to be something of a methodological pluralist. The potential and flexibility of ethnography is now more widely recognised by researchers, especially as concerns for 'scientificity' assume less priority, and research comes to be understood as a process involving interaction between theoretical perspectives, research problems, strategies and techniques (Burgess, 1986b). This means the methodology of any sociological research cannot be understood in isolation from a consideration of its theoretical perspectives, the questions and problems to be addressed, the specific research setting and focus, and the researcher him or herself. Accordingly, we now turn to a consideration of the research literature which provides the background to this study.

Researching teachers, teaching and teacher education

Most reviews of developments within the sociology of education make some distinction between 'old' or 'traditional' sociology of education broadly concerned with macro-sociological issues of social class and educational opportunity, and the 'new' sociology of education which focused on micro-sociological processes relating to the curriculum and classroom interaction (Burgess, 1986a). Such reviews show how over the last thirty years the sociology of education moved from a state of theoretical under-development

where research was stimulated by a concern for empirical description and dominated by positivistic methodology, to a current situation where a range of theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches offer analyses and insights. Although such a classification of developments must be treated with some caution, since it is inevitably an oversimplification, it provides a useful framework for a critical review of the relevant literature on teachers and teaching and in particular, teacher education and the process of professional socialisation.

The review of literature which follows is necessarily selective. It concentrates on that research (especially from Britain) which is most accessible and relevant to an understanding of the process of teacher socialisation. The review distinguishes two significant research traditions which have apparently developed quite separately and without reference to one another. One tradition is that research heavily influenced by the so-called 'new sociology of education' which seeks to understand the processes of social life in schools and classrooms, a tradition which is now well developed theoretically and empirically under the impact of interactionist, phenomenological and Marxist perspectives, and ethnographic methodology. Our understanding of teachers and teaching has, as I shall show, benefitted from the cross-fertilisation of ideas and insights developed by sociological and educational research in this tradition over the last twenty years. The same however, cannot be said of the second tradition of research which focuses on teacher education and the professional training of teachers. This research

tradition has suffered from a sociological neglect, resulting in research which is theoretically and methodologically limited and failure to utilise the insights developed elsewhere in the sociology of education (Atkinson and Delamont, 1985) In short, it is evident that^{the} impact of the 'new sociology of education' on our understanding of classroom processes and therefore of teaching is substantial, but its impact on our understanding of socialisation into the teaching profession is extremely limited, despite the existence of a considerable volume of research into the education and training of teachers (Wragg, 1982) The review of these two research traditions which follows draws upon the distinction between 'traditional' and 'new' sociology of education in order to highlight the gaps in our understanding of the process of teacher socialisation and the failure of sociologists to develop insights which have a potential for further research

'Traditional' research on teachers and teaching

In their brief review of research into teaching and teachers' careers, Ball and Goodson (1985, p 6) comment that in the 1960s and early '70s 'teachers were shadowy figures on the educational landscape mainly known, or unknown, through large scale social surveys (Cortis, 1975), or historical analyses of their position in society (Tropp, 1957), the key concept in apprehending the practice of teaching was that of role (Wilson, 1962)' These are the main features of a considerable literature from those years on teachers and teaching Some of this literature is speculative in nature

concerned with the question of whether teaching is a profession (Etzioni, 1969, Leggatt, 1970, Hoyle, 1969) or, more centrally, with the description and/or prescription of the role of teacher (Westwood, 1969, Wilson, 1962, Hoyle, 1969, Musgrove and Taylor, 1969, Finlayson and Cohen, 1967) Such writing is often influenced by the functionalist perspective which takes the concept of role as the key to understanding the relationship between the individual and society (Parsons, 1959) Morrison and McIntyre (1973) argue that the conceptual framework provided by role theory allows the formulation of a number of important questions

How do teachers' roles vary in accordance with aspects of school organisation? What are the norms and expectations for teachers' behaviour held by various groups such as teachers, headmasters, pupils, and parents, and to what extent is there agreement within and between such groups? How accurately do teachers perceive the norms held by various groups? How far does the role behaviour of teachers conform to these norms? What types of role pressures do different groups exert upon teachers? To what extent do teachers experience different types of role conflict, and what strategies do they use in attempting to resolve it? Which aspects, if any, of the teacher's role motivate people to become teachers?

(pp 36-8)

However, as Morrison and McIntyre point out, research predictably concentrated on those aspects which were most easily studied the expectations held by different groups and the accuracy with which teachers and others perceive the norms for teachers held by others (e g Biddle et al , 1966, Musgrove and Taylor, 1965) Such research gave rise to a number of analyses of role conflict (e g Grace, 1972, Wilson, 1962)

In the late 1960s and early 1970s role theory came under sustained criticism for its tendency to imply a mechanical, one-way adjustment of people to society. Some researchers (Coulson, 1972) argued for the abandonment of the concept and were sceptical about the validity of the research associated with it. As Coulson said, 'the rank ordering of general educational aims can only tell us about the abstract preferences of teachers, pupils and parents in questionnaire responses' (p 123) - it tells us little of what teachers actually believe, and even less about what actually goes on in classrooms.

Much of the research (especially in the United States) was motivated by its assumed practical relevance in identifying teacher effectiveness. Many studies were concerned with predicting the competence of teachers so early selection of more promising candidates for training might be made. In Britain, empirical research using large-scale social surveys, sought to document the social characteristics of teachers (Kelsall and Kelsall, 1969, Floud and Scott, 1961, Curtis, 1975). Such research has made us realise that teaching is a diverse and divided occupation covering a range of institutions, age-groups and subject disciplines, mediated by social differences in terms of age, sex, status, qualifications, payment and membership of unions or professional associations (Burgess, 1984c and 1986a) and by ideology and pedagogical practices (Hannam et al , 1976, Richardson, 1973).

The positivistic cast of the research on teachers and teaching in the 1960s is clear the emphasis on the measurement of teachers' social characteristics, expectations and attitudes by means of social surveys to establish statistical correlations with measures of 'teacher effectiveness' Such concerns were set within an implicitly-held functionalist theoretical framework This regarded the educational system as part of an integrated, functioning social system, and schools as subsystems with their own social structure to be studied in terms of role expectations and behaviour Analysis was in input-output terms teacher characteristics being inputs, effective and less effective teachers (whatever they might be) being outputs What went on in schools and classrooms, the relationship of teachers to their pupils, was ignored and we were left with no understanding of teaching as a process The same can be said of the literature on teacher education at that time

Teacher education research the black box tradition

The last three decades have seen some protracted debates about teacher education among educationalists, policy-makers, researchers and teachers These debates reflect wider discussions of the role of the teacher in modern society The 1960s were characterised by great uncertainty in the minds of educationalists and policy-makers as to the nature of the role or roles for which student teachers were being prepared, and of the appropriate structure, organisation and content of teacher education courses (Taylor, 1961, Bantock, 1969)

Although the debates, stimulated by the rapid expansion of teacher education and the establishment of the James Committee in 1970, continued, research was narrowly conceived Shipman (1969) argued that 'the most striking weakness in this research is the reported absence of systematic research into process variables in the education of teachers, such as curriculum, teaching methods, and the balance of academic and professional work' (p 256) Research that was conducted was nonetheless practically orientated, its chief purpose being to improve programmes of teacher education and the quality of the products of such programmes Like the research on teachers, the focus was on assessing student teachers' characteristics and attitudes and trying to predict whether they would become 'good' and 'effective' teachers (Lomax, 1973)

Underlying much of this literature was a tendency to see teacher education in mechanical terms the teacher training institution was viewed as a miniature social system and analysed in terms of inputs and outputs with researchers concentrating on either the nature of the inputs or the nature of the outputs, while others debated the nature of the training course students were being put through Little attention was paid to the actual process of teacher education Just as most research on the role of the teacher told us little about what goes on in classrooms, so most studies of teacher education told us little about what goes on in colleges and schools during a student's career Researchers took an unexamined definition of teacher education as 'the process whereby one learns to teach', a process seen in terms of course content which had two objectives personal

education and vocational training. Such courses commonly included four elements: theory of education, practice of education, curriculum studies and teaching methods, and main subject study. Academic debate concerned the balance of these elements, the relationship between theory and practice and the relationship between personal and professional education. Research on teacher education in the 1960s thus paralleled in terms of problems, method and theory, research on teachers and teaching which itself reflected the concerns of research in the sociology of education. This involved analysis of the characteristics of those who entered the profession, usually in terms of social background and ability, and an assessment of the impact of the course in terms of changes in students' knowledge, behaviour and beliefs during and after the training period.

Studies of student teacher characteristics were mainly descriptive and utilised questionnaire and/or psycho and sociometric techniques (McLeish, 1970, Morrison and McIntyre, 1967). They documented similarities and differences between students on variables such as school qualifications, academic ability, personality and occupational choice. However, documenting characteristics was often as far as they went; there were few attempts to assess how these differences mediated the impact of the college course. Cohen (1973) has usefully reviewed a selection of these studies and drawn the main findings together.

The majority of student teachers come from lower middle class and upper working class backgrounds Politically they have been described as more Conservative than the population at large While college of education students have continually fallen short of university undergraduates in their 'A' level achievements and in their performance on objective tests of intelligence, there is no evidence to suggest that there has been any decline in the academic quality of student teachers despite the enormous increase in the college of education population during the past ten or fifteen years Many sixth formers choose to teach because they are genuinely fond of children and look for a socially useful, satisfying occupation working with people rather than things For others, particularly those who initially aspired to university places, college may be a second best and teaching an inevitable consequence of three years spent pursuing academic study in those areas where success had been previously experienced There is no evidence that teaching recruits a certain type of individual who can be differentiated in terms of personality or attitudes from his fellows college of education students vary widely in their abilities, personalities and interests (pp 399-400)

This is the picture 'inputs' research into student teacher characteristics produced It is important to remember however, that such analyses are beset by considerable methodological problems For example, it is relatively easy to ask people why they want to become teachers, but even assuming they are willing and able to give their conscious reasons, we still do not know how these are related to less conscious motivations Occupational choice is a complicated process depending not only on the individual's own characteristics but also on those which the occupation is perceived to possess Research has as yet failed to grasp the complexity of this process and left us with inadequate and over-simplified accounts of typical career motivations We must also remember that motivations are not static, rather they change and are modified over time - how this takes place remains an unanswered question These concerns are

taken up from a rather different perspective in this study when I examine student teachers' perceptions of teaching and the threats and challenges to commitment they faced while on school experience

A consideration of studies which attempted to assess the impact of teacher education courses (Collins, 1964, McLeish, 1970, Shipman, 1967, Taylor and Dale, 1971, Cope, 1969) helps throw more light on the way in which the process of professional socialisation was conceptualised within this research tradition. The stimulus for these studies, like those on student characteristics, developed from a practical concern to produce 'effective' and 'efficient' teachers. Assuming that the primary purpose of the teacher education course was to prepare men and women to teach, studies directed at assessing the impact of the course were to some extent an attempt to test the effectiveness of the teacher education course in reaching its primary purpose. However, not only did these studies face problems of determining criteria of successful student performance and of effective teacher behaviour, but since the actual teacher education course itself was usually left unexamined, the question of how the course effected the transformation of students into teachers, was left unanswered. Most of the empirical studies were concerned with changes in the attitudes of student teachers during and after training. From a large number of studies one clear pattern apparently emerged: during training, students become more progressive and liberal in their expressed attitudes, but they move in the opposite direction towards more traditional beliefs when they go into full-time

teaching² Such results were obtained using the Manchester Opinion Scales in Education consisting of three scales of naturalism, radicalism and tendermindedness A consistent tendency for scores on all three scales to increase during the period of training was found by, among others, Butcher (1965), Morrison and McIntyre (1967), and McLeish (1970) Again however, because the process of teacher education was largely taken for granted, answers to questions of how and why change took place were speculative

Reviewing the research, Morrison and McIntyre (1973) suggested that changes in attitude and their subsequent reversal were due to the influence of different social groups on the beginning teacher The attitudes of individuals tend to change in the direction of those held by the majority in groups of which they are members, and also towards the attitudes held by groups to whose membership they aspire Accordingly, it was argued that the influence of the college staff was felt during the training period, but this was replaced by the influence of established teachers on actually entering the profession Shipman (1967) suggested that such changes were context specific phenomena and reflected only students' growing awareness of the 'right answers' expected from them In short, student teachers employed 'impression management' (Petty and Hogben, 1980) in relation to college tutors and professional colleagues There was thus some question as to whether changes in attitudes were genuine As I shall show below, this focus on the impact of the college course on student attitudes and the related

concern as to the most influential factors in professional socialisation continues to dominate the literature in this tradition of research

Opening up the black box of schools and classrooms

By the late 1960s the kind of research and analyses now referred to as 'traditional' or 'old' sociology of education were coming under attack from a number of directions. Functionalism was criticised on ideological grounds as conservative, on methodological grounds because of its association with positivism, and on theoretical grounds for ignoring change, conflict and process. This condemnation of functionalism and positivism came at a time when other theoretical perspectives and methodologies were gaining influence in sociology. The sociology of education in the early 1970s experienced a radical change of direction under the impact of symbolic interactionism, phenomenology, ethnomethodology and interpretive methodologies based on participant observation, unstructured interviews and other ethnographic techniques. In addition, the focus of research moved from macro-sociological to micro-sociological issues with a concern for classroom interaction and the teaching process.

The influence of traditional approaches did not disappear. For example, concern with classroom processes was also studied using systematic observation schedules (Flanders, 1970, Galton, Simon and Croll, 1980, and Croll, 1986), which have remained popular since the early 1970s, as have large scale social surveys using questionnaires and interviews. These

have been used to document student teacher characteristics and attitudes, and the content, structure and process of teacher education courses (Bernbaum et al , 1982, Burgess, 1979) However, it is developments in the study of schools and classrooms utilising 'new' perspectives and methodologies which are the most significant in terms of this research, for they began to give us a greater understanding of the processes of teaching and learning Moreover this study attempts to follow in that tradition committed to uncovering the complexities of schooling and education through such naturalistic enquiry (Hargreaves, 1967, Lacey, 1970, Ball, 1981, Burgess, 1983, Beynon, 1985)

The use of interpretive perspectives to analyse classrooms, which became a major focus of research in the 1970s, had its antecedents in the work of Waller in the 1930s and Becker in the 1950s Waller (1932) was concerned with the cultural life of the school, especially in terms of the conflictual nature of teacher-pupil relations and the impact of teaching on teachers In the same tradition Becker's work looked at the relationship of teachers with pupils, parents, colleagues and principals, and how these were the major influences on the schoolteacher's perspective and career (Becker, 1952a, 1952b, 1953) In Britain, Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970) in their respective studies of a boys' secondary modern and a boys' grammar school, pointed to the ways in which pupils were first differentiated by streaming and then, because of the ways teachers differentially processed pupils, subsequently polarised into anti- and pro-school subcultures Further case studies of school processes

using ethnographic methods have been produced by Ball (1981), Burgess (1983), Woods (1979), and Beynon (1985). From the early studies of school culture and processes, the 1970s saw a concern with the ways teachers categorised or labelled pupils via processes of typification and differentiation (Hargreaves et al , 1975, Keddie, 1971, Hargreaves, 1977, Burgess, 1983, King, 1978). The findings of such research led us to revise characterisations of teaching styles and perspectives around dichotomous distinctions such as traditional-progressive (Bennett, 1976), open-closed (Kohl, 1970), authoritarian-democratic (Lippitt and White, 1958) and subject centred-child centred (DES, 1967). For example, Hammersley (1977) attempted to produce a more detailed typology by suggesting an almost infinite variety of perspectives based on combinations derived from dimensions relating to the teacher's role, pupil action, knowledge, learning and techniques. Such analyses represented a shift to a consideration of teachers' subjective reality as an important influence on the social world of the classroom. This was particularly evident in the growing concern to examine teacher and pupil perspectives.

A number of writers have alerted us to the way in which perspectives are compartmentalised according to context. Keddie (1971), from a study of teachers in a progressive London comprehensive school, distinguished between 'educationist' and 'teacher' contexts in which perspectives changed from being idealistically to practically oriented. This is mirrored in Hammersley's (1977) distinction between

paradigmatically and pragmatically motivated elements of teacher perspectives. These distinctions are utilised and discussed further in Chapters 7 and 8, but they have received support from research by Sharp and Green (1975), Gracey (1976), Chessum (1980) and Woods (1979), among others. Such analyses draw attention to the context within which teachers work, the recurrent problems and dilemmas teachers face - especially in the classroom - and the strategies they employ to deal with such problems. Those working within an interactionist perspective emphasise the problems involved in resolving the demands of instruction and control and the constraints imposed by class size and composition, classroom ecology, colleague and pupil expectations (Woods, 1979, Denscombe, 1980, Woods, 1980a and 1980b) as important influences on perspectives. Drawing also on Marxist frameworks, the constraints imposed by the wider structural system of control and differential opportunities have been stressed (Sharp and Green, 1975).

For example, Denscombe's paper (1980) on the significance of noise for the practical activity of teaching is concerned to show how the 'closed classroom' situation fosters a concern for the social significance of noise emanating from the classroom. Teachers must cope with disruptive behaviour - identified by its noisiness - in order to maintain the impression to colleagues that the teacher retains classroom control. Denscombe shows that teachers work within constraints deriving from the situational, ideological and structural context. In doing so, he alerts us to the problematic nature of relationships with pupils and colleagues.

and to the centrality for teachers of the issue of maintaining classroom control. The accumulation of a number of similarly empirically based analyses of classroom interaction gradually established the teacher's essential problem as one of survival or coping (Woods, 1977, 1979, Hargreaves, 1977, 1978, 1979, Pollard, 1980, 1982, 1985a) and attention turned to survival or coping strategies.

Interest in strategies has become central to an understanding of classroom processes, 'because the concept offers a way of getting to the heart of school action and allows for consideration of the influence of both structurally generated constraints and of individual biography' (Woods, 1981, p 283). Both teachers and pupils develop strategies to meet the multiple demands made on them in line with their own interests and personalities. A number of writers, starting with Waller (1932) have developed loose typologies of the strategies used by teachers, and more recently of pupils, and we now have a detailed view of the range of strategies used in classrooms.³ Interestingly, some of the earliest work on teacher perspectives and strategies was developed with reference to probationary and student teachers (Hanson and Herrington, 1976, Lacey, 1977). However, the potential of this work for our understanding of the process of teacher socialisation has, as I shall argue, been all but neglected.

Hanson and Herrington (1976), for example, studied a group of sixteen probationary teachers by means of diary-keeping and showed how student and probationary teachers found it necessary to conform to the conventional wisdom and

recipe knowledge of those around them (that is experienced teachers) in order to survive. They confirm the conclusions of other studies that it is school experience rather than college life which is the single main determinant of the ideals and classroom behaviour of new teachers. In their concern to detail probationers' situational adjustment in schools, the way in which they come to perceive problems, and the change in perspective from 'progressivism' to a more conventional teacher perspective in which classroom control looms large, the influence of interactionism is apparent. Indeed, Hanson and Herrington make explicit reference to Berger and Luckmann's (1971) work, arguing that college life and school life constitute two different versions of reality. The influence of interactionism on their analysis is, however, limited, and their study is better remembered for its contribution to what until recently became conventional wisdom among researchers on teacher education: the importance of the discontinuity between training and the reality of teaching. I will return to this issue and the associated research below, but first it is important to consider in detail Lacey's (1977) work on teacher socialisation - still the only relatively large scale interactionist study of the process of teacher socialisation to date.

Lacey The socialisation of teachers

Lacey's understanding of the process of teacher socialisation is based on a view of the student not simply as a naive subject responding unthinkingly to outside pressures and constraints, but rather as the initiator of 'action-idea systems that are innovative within situations and change them' (p 72) Drawing on the work of Becker et al (1961), Lacey introduces the concept of social strategy to imply a purposive autonomous element within individual and group behaviour in the face of coercive social pressures Strategies are selected and created by individuals according to their definition of the situation and their ability as performers Lacey proposes three basic types of strategy

- 1 Strategic compliance - in which an individual complies with an authority figure's definition of the situation but retains private reservations
- 2 Internalised adjustment - in which an individual complies with the situation in both action and belief
- 3 Strategic redefinition - in which change is brought about by the individual causing or enabling those with formal power to change their interpretation of the situation

On the basis of his case study of the Post-graduate Certificate in Education course at Sussex University, Lacey locates this conceptual discussion within an examination of the process of becoming a teacher, which he argues passes through four stages

The first stage he calls the 'honeymoon period' when students are euphoric, it is a period of heightened awareness when one is optimistic about overcoming future difficulties The second stage is characterised by the search for

material and ways of teaching As classroom difficulties increase, the search for material becomes a central concern; it is an attempt to compensate for lack of control and inability to improvise in the classroom by elaborate preparation The third stage Lacey designates 'The Crisis'. The preparation of material involves a very personal solution to the problem of the classroom, and this renders failure or rejection shattering At some time or other, a large number of students are subjectively in or near a crisis situation They feel they are no longer in control of the situation, that they are failing to get through to their pupils and failing to teach them This feeling can be momentary or a more general state of affairs During this period, the student feels the need to communicate about problems and to displace the blame Lacey notes that blame may be displaced upwards - towards the system, the head and other teachers - or downwards - towards the pupils radical and establishment responses respectively The final stage in the teacher socialisation process is 'learning to get by' There are a number of strategies which a student teacher may adopt in dealing with the problems of the teaching situation Lacey says it is possible to suggest two major categories under which most of the observed strategies are subsumed

- 1 collectivisation of the problem - the problem is shared by the group whose collective opinions legitimise the displacement of blame
- 2 privatisation of the problem - the student does not speak about it and may refuse to admit the problem

Students may of course shift from one strategy to another depending on the situational constraints Lacey thus introduces

four observed types of social strategy collectivising and privatising strategies, upward and downward displacement of blame In addition, there are the three theoretical types of strategy strategic compliance, internalised adjustment and strategic redefinition

Lacey examines the implications of these strategies for 'learning to get by', or failure, within the course In analysing particular cases, Lacey shows how students are influenced in selecting strategies by their ability to carry them off For many of the students, 'learning to get by' contains a large element of strategic compliance Students have some freedom to manipulate and change the situation, yet at the same time are constrained to adjust to it

Lacey develops a model of socialisation as the adoption or creation of appropriate social strategies The functionalist model of socialisation assumes the internalisation of social norms, but for Lacey this is problematic Within his model, actors have a choice with regard to their relationship to the social strategy employed They can internalise all the supporting arguments and values - internalised adjustment - or they can get by and remain only partially convinced - strategic compliance Beyond this, they can try to struggle with the constraints of the situation - strategic redefinition Most strategies of this sort are dependent on the skill and commitment of the individual, and persistent failure to redefine the situation from a position of weakness can lead to problems Lacey argues that although strategic redefinition is rare, its implementation dangerous and its

effects often local and short-lived, it is important for understanding social change and the sociology of the possible

Lacey's work, which has its origins in a research project undertaken by a small team of social scientists between 1969 and 1973, remains the only major sociological research project on teacher education using an interactionist framework. His contribution in these terms is greater at the theoretical than at the empirical level. The theoretical analysis presented by Lacey in terms of perspectives and strategies predates the work of other contemporary researchers interested in developing models of teacher and pupil strategies (Woods, Hargreaves and Pollard). However, the theoretical contribution to our understanding of teacher education and the socialisation of teachers is apparently little realised and has not formed a basis for further research and development on these subjects.⁴ As Atkinson and Delamont (1985) point out, it seems sociological research on teacher socialisation is not 'visible' to colleagues. Lacey et al 's commitment to an interactionist theoretical framework was not, however, matched by an emphasis on ethnographic techniques for the collection of data. Those parts of the research which did use ethnographic methods - mainly participant observation - are reported in just one chapter (Chapter 4); by far the greater amount of data reported in the book relates to more traditional positivistic questionnaire-based techniques of measuring attitudes.

Although the potential of Lacey's model has been cited in reviews of the literature (Robinson, 1981; Woods, 1983),

that research tradition which has its interest in teacher education and the process of socialisation - always marginal to mainstream sociology of education - has not taken up Lacey's theoretical and conceptual insights. Instead it has continued to focus upon those narrowly-conceived and recurring questions which form the greater part of Lacey's empirical material: questions relating to student teacher attitudes and the way in which they do or do not change during training and probation.

Teacher education research - time to change direction?

Interest in student teacher attitudes apparently remains the major issue among researchers interested in the process of teacher socialisation. Research on this issue has not however produced a consistent pattern of results and explanations. Early work (Hoy, 1969, Finlayson and Cohen, 1967, Morrison and McIntyre, 1967, Cope, 1971, McLeish, 1970), as we have seen, reports a move towards more progressive and more liberal attitudes during training, and a change to a more 'custodial' ideology of traditional authoritarianism with the experience of school practice and classroom reality. From this, the most salient influence in the process of teacher socialisation has variously been argued as the influence of pupils, established teachers, the physical and ideological environment of schools and classrooms, and structural imperatives relating to class size, compulsory attendance, scarcity of resources and so on. As Zeichner and Grant (1981, p 300) suggest, the scenario painted by these research findings is one where

relatively more 'liberal' students begin during their student teaching experience to move closer toward the more conservative beliefs and practices of their co-operating teachers who are, in turn, pressured toward conservative views by the constraints imposed by the material conditions of the classroom and by the institutional characteristics of school bureaucracies

More recent research (Lortie, 1975, Petty and Hogben, 1980, Mardle and Walker, 1980, Lacey, 1977) follows Shipman (1967) and argues that attitudes-as-expressed may be a 'front' disguising other more internalised attitudes which may be unaffected by the training course. Such arguments assert the influence of biography in the teacher socialisation process. Socialisation occurs through the internalisation of teaching models during the years spent as a pupil. All of these studies emphasise the discontinuity between training and the reality of teaching.

In a significant contribution to this debate, Denscombe (1982, 1985) attempts to bring together the influence of both structure and biography by arguing for the existence of a 'hidden pedagogy'. According to Denscombe, the 'hidden pedagogy' is centred on beliefs relating to classroom control and classroom privacy as absolute pre-requisites for successful teaching - beliefs fostered by classroom experience as a source of continuity in the socialisation of teachers. The 'hidden pedagogy' is regarded by Denscombe as resistant to the socialising effects of the teacher education course. It is essentially an implicit theory of teaching derived from classroom experience which gives rise to expectations about the appropriate behaviour of teachers. In the context of the closed classroom these expectations are about 'first

establishing classroom control and being able to establish it without help from colleagues' (Denscombe, 1982, p 250)

Denscombe's working of this concept has been extremely useful in offering significant insights into teacher socialisation, but his analysis is not based on empirical study of student teachers or the teacher education process ⁵ The research presented here goes some way towards correcting this The 'hidden pedagogy' is regarded as central to an understanding of student teachers' perspectives on classroom control, and teacher educators' perspectives on the assessment of teaching competence (see Chapters 5 and 8)

A recent contribution to the study of student teachers' attitudes, based on interview and questionnaire data is the work of Cole (1985) His findings challenge the established deterministic and stereotyped conception of the new recruit by documenting variations in student teachers' attitudes and commitment to teaching, and raising questions about the hitherto established wisdom regarding teachers' inevitable conservatism In an interesting twist to the question of whether the reality of teaching does or does not change attitudes, Cole argues that what previous researchers have seen as a change of attitude is better described as a difference in the mode of consciousness employed by students and teachers responding to questionnaires Utilising Gidden's (1979) distinction between 'practical' and 'discursive' modes of consciousness, Cole maintains that while student teachers are likely to formulate answers to questionnaires in the discursive mode, established teachers are likely to do so in the practical mode Extended interviews, however,

put teachers in a situation which activates the discursive mode of consciousness and, on the basis of this, Cole argues that attitudes are not necessarily changed

The concentration on the apparently weak socialising effects of teacher education, and the entrenched attitudes of teachers are understandable, given policy and educational concern to make teacher education 'more effective' However, the research is beset with methodological difficulties and theoretical weaknesses The validity of measuring attitude change by means of questionnaires or other measurement instruments is now widely questioned, as is the lack of attention given to process variables in influencing that change In this connection it is significant that all the studies discussed above assume - without reference to empirical evidence - that the influence of the teacher education course is intentionally and unambiguously 'progressive' and 'liberal', particularly in matters of classroom control Moreover, the research is locked into the 'black box' tradition with students both passively soaking up the norms and values of the school and apparently, somehow, actively 'resisting' the impact of the teacher education course Lacey (1977, p 48) has commented that 'too much emphasis has been given to the obvious fact that the change occurs, and too little attention paid to the partial and incomplete nature of the change ' This statement in itself is challengeable, but it is the contradictions and conflicts in the experience of teacher socialisation and the ways in which students actively develop, adapt and create their own

perspectives and strategies which warrant attention in research. The failure of researchers to take up such issues is surprising when we consider the way research which focuses on the social processes of school life, particularly with reference to the concept of social strategy, has developed.

New directions for research

Since Lacey was writing in the late 1970s, a number of researchers have developed the concept of social strategy as a means of understanding classroom processes. Most notable among these writers have been Woods, Hargreaves and Pollard.

Based on his analysis of social processes in Lowfield Secondary School, Woods (1979) argues that in constrained circumstances teachers are primarily concerned with personal survival. Trapped by their own commitment, by the personal sacrifices and investment which they make in order to become teachers, and faced with recalcitrant pupils, adverse pupil-teacher ratios, and other institutional pressures, a process of 'accommodation' is necessary to maintain survival. Such accommodations form survival strategies. It is through such strategies - Woods distinguishes eight: domination, negotiation, socialisation, fraternisation, absence and removal, ritual and routine, occupational therapy and morale boosting - that teachers defend their interests. Woods maintains that in some cases survival may well take the place of teaching.

Woods' analysis deals with established teachers, but it is easy to see that such an analysis might have especial relevance to an understanding of teachers at the start of their career. Student teachers face a particularly acute 'survival' problem, in that they must develop strategies to accommodate to new situations and varied and possibly contradictory expectations. These are issues with which this research is particularly concerned.

Hargreaves (1977, 1978, 1979, 1980) has put forward an analysis of 'coping strategies' which are conceived of as constructive acts by teachers in response to constraints and dilemmas determined at a societal level but 'mediated through institutional goals and constraints' (1977, p 592). Hargreaves attempts to develop the model of coping strategies by emphasising the macro sociological context of coping.

Building upon the work of both Woods and Hargreaves, Pollard (1980, 1982, 1985a) constructs a theoretical model of coping strategies which takes into account both their social context and their genesis. In trying to correct the imbalance he perceives in Hargreaves' model, Pollard makes two significant contributions: 'one at the middle level of the institution, in the form of the influence of children in interaction with teachers, teacher culture, and what he calls 'institutional bias', the other in the area of teacher biography' (Woods, 1981, p 283). Having identified three analytical layers for the contextualisation of classroom interaction, Pollard also raises the question of what it is that coping means. 'we cannot regard coping strategies merely as adaptations to societal and situational demands without also attempting to

specify the source or nature of the adaptive necessity' (Pollard, 1982, p 27) In developing the model in this direction, Pollard takes up Woods' idea of personal survival, and via an introduction of the concepts of 'self' and 'interests-at-hand' argues that, depending on the coping requirements of the classroom situation, interests will be juggled in order to maximise their overall productivity for self' (p 35) For Pollard, the meaning of coping is derived from specific self conceptions, the facets of which can be identified as interests-at-hand

Pollard has produced a well-worked and highly systematic theoretical model extensively supported by his empirical research in primary schools The integration of conceptual analysis at both macro and micro levels suggests the model has considerable potential for the sociological understanding of educational settings, and, as will be seen in this study, for generating insights into the understanding of the professional socialisation of teachers For example, Pollard's emphasis on the micro concepts of self and interests at hand in relation to the meaning of coping prove particularly useful in analysing student teachers' identity construction and commitment (see Chapter 7)

Recent theoretical and conceptual developments in the study of teacher strategies are thus potentially fruitful in opening up our understanding of the process of teacher socialisation However, since the subjects of this study are student teachers, it is also likely that literature on student and pupil perspectives and strategies might provide illuminating insights

Becker et al (1961) in their study of medical students (all of whom had a strong commitment to a common goal qualifying as doctors) found that in the light of 'impossible' workloads, students were forced to adopt short-term strategies in order to 'get by', a situation which produced a cynical orientation to their course, but at the same time enabled them to maintain their vocational commitment to medicine. The parallels with student teachers on teaching practice have been partially explored by Lacey (1977) and the question of how student teachers maintain commitment and sustain the development of their identities in the face of often adverse circumstances is explored in this study.

Research on pupil strategies in school and classroom contexts is less well developed than that on teacher strategies, particularly in theoretical terms (although Pollard's model is intended to apply to both teachers and pupils). There is however, one important concern in the literature on pupil strategies which must be borne in mind when considering the perspectives and strategical orientations of student, as opposed to established teachers. This is the notion of 'resistance' or 'opposition'. Hargreaves (1972) makes a three-fold distinction between types of pupil strategy. 'pleasing teacher', 'indifferent', and 'delinquent'. Woods (1979) makes a similar classification using the terms 'supportive', 'oppositional' and 'detached'. Research interest has concentrated on oppositional/delinquent strategies (Hargreaves et al , 1975, Willis, 1977, Furlong, 1977, Woods, 1979, Corrigan, 1976, Fuller, 1983, Burgess, 1983), and has documented the way pupils reject, test out and negotiate teacher-

imposed definitions of the situation via a whole range of strategies enabling them to 'have a laugh', alleviate boredom and sustain their interests-at-hand (Woods, 1977, Pollard, 1985a , Beynon, 1985) This raises questions about the possibility of resistance, opposition and negotiation on the part of student teachers

The picture presented in the literature on student teachers is, as we have seen, overwhelmingly one of conformity effective socialisation into a homogeneous teacher culture But recent stress on the active negotiating and bargaining strategies of even conformist pupils (Delamont, 1983, Fuller, 1983, Beynon, 1985) suggests such a picture is incomplete and inaccurate Contradictions in perspective and action are part of the reality of social life which, as yet, have not been fully explored among pupils or teachers, let alone among student teachers Notions of opposition, resistance and negotiation draw attention to the interactive nature of the social world of education and, unsurprisingly, the literature on strategic action has concentrated on that action directed by teachers towards pupils, and by pupils towards teachers Some writers however, (Pollard, 1982, Beynon, 1985) draw attention to the fact that not all the repertoire of teacher or pupil strategies is necessarily directed the one towards the other This will be particularly the case with student teachers an understanding of the process of initial socialisation must not only recognise the interactive strategies of and towards pupils, college tutors and teachers in practice schools, but also strategies to sustain identity and maintain self-image (Pollard, 1985a,

Nias, 1984, 1985), to cope with and survive course demands, or to win favourable assessments (Miller and Parlett, 1974) These themes are developed in Chapters 7 and 9

As a result of research within the 'new sociology of education', we have a more sociologically informed conceptualisation of teachers and their work Teachers are now regarded as engaged in developing creative strategies in response to societal and situational constraints, resolving personal, interpersonal, structural and educational dilemmas through and within their interaction with pupils In referring to the most recent research on teachers, Ball and Goodson comment, 'alongside this recognition of the complexity of the teachers' task and the importance of the interplay between initiating and responsive acts in the classroom, greater attention has been directed to teachers as human beings, as rounded social actors with their own problems and perspectives, making careers, struggling to achieve their ideals, or just struggling to "survive"' (Ball and Goodson, 1985, p 8)

The theoretical, conceptual and methodological development of research on classroom processes stands in marked contrast to the narrowly conceptualised, theoretically and methodologically underdeveloped state of research on teacher education With the partial exception of Lacey's work, the two traditions have developed largely in isolation from one another The call made in the late 1960s and early 1970s for sociologists to focus on social relations and internal processes within schools by means of ethnographic methods was taken up by many researchers, but not in relation to teacher

education This means our understanding of the process of professional socialisation in teaching is limited - theoretically, conceptually and empirically - but at the same time, the advances made in our understanding of classroom processes, teachers and teaching point to a number of themes and issues worthy of study in the context of teacher education research Some of these questions are addressed in this study

What is the nature of the 'survival' problem experienced by student teachers?

What perspectives do student teachers begin their professional socialisation with? How are these developed and modified in the course of initial socialisation?

How do student teachers learn to 'cope'? What does 'coping' mean to them? How is coping with success and failure defined? What strategies do student teachers adopt, create and develop?

How do student teachers maintain their commitment and develop and sustain a teacher identity?

What are the contradictions and conflicts experienced in the process of initial teacher education? How do students, tutors and teachers perceive each other? What negotiations are made with significant others?

These questions are addressed through a study of the professional studies year of a B Ed course at Haydon Park College Such questions are informed by the application of an interactionist perspective and necessitate the use of ethnographic techniques in data collection In this way,

the present study follows the concerns and foci of Lacey (1977), but departs significantly from much of the research which has tended to dominate the study of teacher education. In so doing, the analysis presented in the following chapters seeks to challenge some of the assumptions shaping our present sociological understanding of teacher socialisation, and to draw upon the insights generated by research in other educational settings in order to further understanding and regenerate debate on teacher education.

Recent research directions

The questions and issues used to orientate this study have been located within the space produced by the discrete development of two research traditions within the sociology of education. It is now necessary to complete the review of these traditions by locating the study in relation to the most recent developments in research related to teachers, teaching and teacher education. Three research areas can be considered as being of most significance: teacher careers, initial encounters and classroom teaching skills.

The publication of Teaching Careers: Crises and Continuities by Sikes, Measor and Woods (1985), and an edited volume, Teachers' Lives and Careers by Ball and Goodson (1985) represent considerable recent research interest in the objective and subjective careers of teachers. Questions of survival and coping, identity and commitment, and role management in a changing educational and social climate are all addressed in an attempt to throw light on the contemporary

career and life-cycle of the teacher This research, often utilising life histories, is explicitly intended to further our understanding of the development of teachers' careers, especially in their later stages However, as I have emphasised in this review, despite studies of the initial stages of teachers' careers, we have a less-than-adequate understanding of the process of professional socialisation This study, although not utilising life history techniques, does consider a range of data relevant to a greater understanding of how those at the start of a professional career develop 'competence' in 'handling constraints, managing the role and career, devising and executing strategies, as well as the ability to teach of negotiating a way through hazards and around obstructions, of making or seizing opportunities to realise or further one's interests' (Sikes, Measor and Woods, 1985, p 242)

Research interest in initial encounters between teachers and pupils is most comprehensively represented in Beynon's (1985) ethnographic study of a comprehensive school in South Wales Beynon's study examines the socialisation of pupils into secondary schooling, the inductive strategies used by teachers to cope with a new school intake, and the methods employed by pupils to 'thwart, exasperate and provoke teachers' In a similar vein, Measor and Woods (1984) study the transition from middle to secondary school and raise basic questions about pupil identity and career and the processes of 'sussing out' and 'establishment' via the presentation of fronts in initial encounters The study of 'initial encounters' has special significance for analyses

of teacher socialisation First, the initial socialisation process represents a transition period (from student/pupil to teacher) of potentially very high levels of anxiety In the same way that transfer to secondary school represents for pupils a threat to their identity in the short term - in a very real sense student teachers do not know how they will measure up to the demands made on them in a situation they have not experienced before - it is also in the longer term, despite the risks of the unknown, 'a step nearer the coveted status of adult', or, in the case of student teachers, a step nearer qualified teacher status Secondly, the classroom encounters of student teachers represent initial encounters par excellence in that, unlike experienced teachers, the student has little, if any, personal practical expertise on which to draw It would seem probable that such encounters might be highly profitable for sociological study, not only in making visible the rules and strategies of routine encounters (Ball, 1980), but also in throwing light upon the perspectives and strategies of the beginning teacher, particularly in terms of the salience of the 'hidden pedagogy' (Denscombe, 1982) Although this study did not set out to study explicitly initial encounters⁶, much of the data is relevant to an understanding of the specific problems and difficulties experienced by student teachers during their initial classroom encounters as teachers This is the particular focus of Chapter 6

The third research issue of significance to the concerns of this study is embodied in the Teacher Education Project

(Wragg, 1984), a four-and-a-half year research and development project involving a team of researchers headed by Wragg and Kerry. The project, which involved observation of over one thousand lessons, interviews with more than two hundred experienced and novice teachers, concentrated on the development of teachers' professional competence, especially class management and control skills and related skills of explaining and questioning. Since the aim of the project was not only empirical research, but also the production of training materials, it differed somewhat from the research reviewed so far in being directly tied to policy concerns. This was a large-scale project utilising a range of data collection techniques, ^{example,} for structured observation and interviews, to produce a considerable amount of material relating to classroom case studies comparing students thought to be poor classroom managers with those thought to be good managers, and student teachers with experienced teachers. The practical orientation of the project meant that theoretical and conceptual advances in understanding the process of professional socialisation were not central objectives of the research. This study can be regarded as complementary to the Teacher Education Project, in that it shares a concern with the development of professional competence, but in methodology and approach it seeks to further sociological understanding of the process of teacher education. It is hoped the findings of both studies may prove fruitful for future research and policy.

Conclusion

In this chapter a discussion of the research traditions which form the background and provide the perspective for the present study has enabled us to locate the aims of the research. The central aim of the study is an understanding of teacher education as a process of professional socialisation. By demonstrating the significant advances made in recent years in the sociological understanding of teaching and classroom processes, and the theoretical under-development of research on teacher education, it has been possible to sketch out the guiding questions which focus the research. These are concerned with the perspectives and strategies developed by student teachers in the course of initial socialisation; the negotiations with pupils, teacher educators and classroom teachers necessary for 'coping' and 'survival'; and the changing and possibly conflictual and contradictory nature of student teachers' commitment and identity construction. These questions are shaped by the influence of interactionist and phenomenological perspectives and the insights generated by ethnographic studies in a variety of educational settings. The analysis presented in the following chapters is based on an ethnographic study of an initial teacher education course; accordingly the following chapter considers the research locale and the techniques used to gather the data upon which this analysis is based.

Notes

- 1 A major example is Lacey (1977)
- 2 We must be very cautious before accepting such generalisations Cohen (1973) points out that many of these studies do not provide adequate controls in the form of non-student groups, matched by age, qualifications, personality characteristics and so on, in order to examine the possibility that such changes which do occur are due to the effects of the college course rather than to maturational factors As Cohen says, there is a need for investigations designed to identify more of the variables involved in student attitude formation and change, and to map the complex interactions among these variables
- 3 See Beynon (1985), pp 24-5 for a summary of the main statements on strategies
- 4 A recent exception is the work of Sikes, Measor and Woods (1985)
- 5 Further limitations of Denscombe's argument are discussed in Chapter 8
- 6 There are both ethical and practical problems in studying the initial classroom encounters of student teachers

CHAPTER 2

STUDYING TEACHER EDUCATION AT HAYDON PARK COLLEGE

This chapter aims to provide details of the fieldwork on which this study is based. It provides a portrait of Haydon Park College and its initial teacher education course, introduces the college tutors and student teachers and gives basic details of the research techniques used. A fuller discussion of some of the problems and issues raised in conducting this research is to be found in the appendix.

The college

Haydon Park College was formed in 1975 as one of the new Colleges of Higher Education. The college was established as a result of the re-organisation of higher education and teacher education in the 1970s from a merger of the local Colleges of Art, Technology and Education. The college was the only institution of higher education in the county in which it was situated, but it had established links with a nearby University. In 1981-2 it had 5000 full- and part-time students on a wide range of advanced courses including degree level work.

The college had two main sites. Teacher education courses, along with other degree and advanced courses, were taught on Hill Site, located on the outskirts of the town. Hill Site consisted, in the main, of purpose-built accommodation, including student residences and special facilities for sport,

drama, dance and so on. However, due to cutbacks in capital building programmes and the growth of student numbers in the latter half of the 1970s, the teaching accommodation was supplemented by mobile classrooms. The professional studies groups which were the focus of the research were accommodated for most of their teaching in such classrooms, as were the 'offices' of the tutors. Despite a growing 'village' of mobile classrooms, Hill Site was attractive, with teaching areas separated by lawns and flower beds, and the whole site surrounded by playing fields and woodland. This was in contrast to Town Site, situated near the centre of the town and housed in buildings dating back to the nineteenth century. The teaching accommodation at Town Site was institutional, functional and bleak. Town Site was mainly concerned with the college's further education courses, particularly in technology, art and design. Although the two sites were administratively and organisationally under the auspices of one college structure, for many staff the two functioned quite separately. Most of the two hundred or so staff in 1981 taught on only one site and in this sense the two sites were quite distinct. I emphasise this point because at the time of the fieldwork, I taught part-time at Town Site and, except for occasional liaison with colleagues, I rarely visited Hill Site. When I started the fieldwork, although formally employed by the college, to all intents and purposes I was a stranger and quite unfamiliar with this part of the institution. Furthermore, nearly all the staff on Hill Site had never met me. I thus entered the research

setting primarily in the role of researcher, but secondarily in the role of colleague

From its establishment, Haydon Park College was organised structurally into six schools or faculties which took responsibility for the administration of subject related courses. Teacher education courses were the responsibility of the School of Education and Social Science, and just over half (22) of the full-time staff were primarily engaged in teacher education. The School was headed by a Dean and two Assistant Deans who had reduced teaching loads. The academic staff of the School with responsibility for teacher education were divided into two 'divisions' - education theory and applied education. Applied education staff had a special role as Professional Studies Seminar Tutors (see below) and had followed a career from school teaching to college of education. All but one of the education theory staff were male, while the eight applied education staff were equally divided in terms of gender, the female staff however had responsibility for students preparing to teach in nursery, first, junior or middle schools while the male staff took charge of those preparing for middle and secondary schools.¹ Staff from other faculties within the college also contributed to the teacher education course, in particular in terms of the students' academic subject studies over the first two years of the course and in relation to the teaching of main and subsidiary subjects in the professional studies year. Tutors involved in the latter, also shared school experience supervision responsibilities with applied education tutors. This brings us to a consideration of the teacher education course itself.

The course

The formation of Haydon Park College in 1975 created a situation in which teacher education was no longer divorced from the rest of higher education, and intending teachers were able to mix socially, and also in respect of degree courses in their course work, with other students preparing for different careers. Coincidentally, and in the light of both the James Report (DES, 1972b) and the White Paper 'A Framework for Expansion' (DES, 1972a), the teacher education programme was developed along the lines of a consecutive rather than a concurrent pattern.

With this development, students were able to take a three year Ordinary B Ed or, by a further year of study, proceed to an Honours B Ed. During the first two years students took Education Theory and either two main subjects or one main subject and two subsidiary subjects. A main subject being studied for two years and a subsidiary for one. A wide range of subjects and subject combinations were offered to enable students to choose programmes of study to meet their academic interests and professional 'needs'. Over these two years students also visited schools for several single days in order to observe a variety of teaching methods and school organisations.

In the third year of the B Ed (with which this study is mainly concerned) students concentrated exclusively upon professional training and thus embarked upon the Professional Studies in Education Course. According to the college prospectus, this professional studies course had 'a balanced programme of curriculum studies and school experience and

aims to give students a broad preparation for teaching so that they can respond flexibly to the changing employment situation' At this stage in their professional education, students worked in phase specific groups, choosing one of three courses relating to professional studies

- a) the nursery/first school course
- b) the middle years course for those who wish to be either general class teachers of 7-11 year olds or teachers offering a specialist subject for 9-13 year olds
- c) the specialist subject course for ages 11-16 which prepares students to become specialist teachers in two subjects

Each of the courses was taken by two groups of approximately fifteen students, each with a professional studies tutor who remained with the group throughout the year, teaching the course and supervising the students during school experience

The professional studies course commenced immediately after examinations in the summer term of year two of the B Ed course with an induction course lasting four weeks. The following academic year was divided into alternative blocks of professional studies and school experience, the latter being arranged to avoid students being in schools at the beginning or end of term. Three blocks of school experience were undertaken, one in each college term.

- 1) 4 weeks in a Middle School where the student can be attached to one or two classes for most of the time, thereby getting to know pupils well, observing and contributing to the class teaching alongside the class teacher.
- 2) 6 weeks in a Secondary/Upper School working under the guidance of subject teachers in the school, taking some responsibility for planning and teaching their main subject to pupils of 11-16 years

- 3) 6 weeks in a Secondary/Upper School, again working under the guidance of subject teachers in the school, taking some responsibility for planning and teaching their main subject to pupils of 11-16 years and, where possible, their subsidiary subject in the 11-14 year age groups

During the professional studies blocks, which took place in college, students were engaged for approximately half their time in studying the teaching of their main and subsidiary subjects where attention was concentrated on the analysis of subject matters in pedagogical terms and the development of appropriate teaching skills. For the other half of their study time students worked on a seminar programme with their professional studies tutors. This seminar programme was concerned with the analysis and development of general teaching competence and regarded as fundamental preparation for school experience and all subsequent professional practice. This element of the professional studies course covered such things as the preparation of schemes of work and lesson plans, resource-supported teaching, classroom management, questioning techniques, applications for first appointments; the law and the teacher and so on. In order for the student to gain qualified teacher status, it was of course necessary to pass in each of the two elements of the course viz: professional studies and school experience. A system of continuous assessment was in operation which required a minimum of eighty per cent attendance, the satisfactory completion of all course work assignments and the 'passing' of school experience.

The tutors and students

In the course of the fieldwork, which was undertaken over a period of twelve months, I spent some time with all the groups on the professional studies course. However, because it was impossible for practical reasons to follow ninety students in six different groups through three different variations of the course, I came to focus on those groups preparing for specialist subject teaching in secondary schools. Most of the data reported in this study relates to the tutors and students of these groups. I chose to concentrate my attention on those preparing to teach in secondary schools because my own experience and training in teaching was nearest to these students. I felt this would be advantageous not only in establishing field relationships but also in developing an ethnographic analysis. In the event I spent rather more time with the group tutored by Paul Brown because the advantages of building a continuous relationship with one group of students seemed to outweigh those of comparing two groups systematically. Moreover, the intention of the study was to focus on processes, perspectives, strategies and experiences rather than individual students.

The two tutors of the secondary schooling orientated groups², whom I call Paul Brown and Gerald Lewis³, were both in their late thirties and had substantial experience of teaching in secondary schools in physical education and humanities respectively, before joining the college in the early 1970s. Both were instrumental in establishing the B Ed course in its concurrent form from 1975 and had contributed to its overall philosophy. Like the other four

professional studies tutors, they had opted at that time to concentrate on applied education rather than theory of education, and devoted a great deal of effort and enthusiasm to the professional studies course. Although each was responsible for his own students, the curriculum studies course over the three blocks of in-college study followed by each tutor was identical and for a number of sessions the two groups were joined together. In many ways the tutors operated as a team and this was reflected in their general philosophy on teaching and teacher education.

Gerald Lewis and Paul Brown shared a common orientation to their role as professional studies tutors. This was centred on its pastoral aspects, and regarded as a major point of difference between themselves and other colleagues involved in teacher education.

one of our primary roles is to give a sort of link and also to give continuity and the sort of total commitment to a group of students during a difficult and often traumatic part of their training, and yet, we are the only people, in the main, who give that sort of total commitment. Many of the subject tutors, by definition aren't giving that sort of commitment. Not because they aren't committed, but because they've got other things to do.

(Gerald Lewis, interview extract)

Given that most of their teaching commitment was to the professional studies course, the two tutors were able to concentrate their efforts on nurturing the development of a small number of students. This was very much in line with the findings of the Structure and Process of Initial Teacher Education within Universities in England and Wales (S P I T E) project (Bernbaum et al , 1982) on P G C E tutors. The P G C E tutors felt the relationship between methods tutor

(the rough equivalent of the professional studies tutor) and students was at the hub of the P G C E. They believed it was not possible to do the job properly, unless a fairly close relationship with students was established. At the same time, both Gerald Lewis, Paul Brown and the P G C E tutors studied by Bernbaum et al, recognised the difficulties associated with this relationship, given tutors' responsibility for the assessment of students' teaching performance. This was the source of a major dilemma confronting tutors in their loyalties to individual students and the teaching profession. As the S P I T E project also found, tutors found it difficult to resolve the choice between giving students every chance to show what they could do and ensuring weaker students were dissuaded from entering the teaching profession (see also Chapter 8).

As well as sharing similar perceptions of their role, Paul Brown and Gerald Lewis had similar conceptions of 'good' teaching. This was founded on personal commitment and enthusiasm, the establishment of good working relationships with children and a commitment to active learning

[teaching] is about relationships ultimately and it's why teaching machines will never, hopefully, replace the person. I want if nothing else for them [the student teachers] to go out with an urge to teach. I want them to go out with some sense of excitement

(Gerald Lewis, interview extract)

one of our fundamental principles of learning pupils have got to be active. I mean that dominates, I hope, a lot of the early work that we do with students, and a lot of the comments I make to them, because I keep insisting they've got to think in terms of pupil activity and not just their own activity

(Paul Brown, interview extract)

It was these qualities Paul Brown and Gerald Lewis attempted to foster in their own teaching and in their students' teaching

There were twenty-eight students (twenty women and eight men) taking the subject specialist course of professional studies, twelve in Gerald Lewis's group and sixteen in the group led by Paul Brown. Between them the two groups represented a wide range of educational biographies, life histories and subject specialisms. Most had entered the B Ed course as 18 year olds with conventional 'A' level requirements, but seven students were aged over 25 years and entered with qualifications including Open University Credits, the Higher National Certificate in Metallurgy and Engineering and a Diploma in Management Studies. In fact not all the students on the course were working towards a B Ed qualification. Four of the mature students, all males, had turned to a teaching career in their forties or fifties having been made redundant by the closure of a large local industry, and were studying for a Certificate in Education. Another male student in his early twenties, was employed by a local Church as an organist and, since part of his job required teaching music in a Church college it was thought expedient he should gain qualified teacher status by taking a one year professional studies course.⁴ All the other students were studying for a B Ed degree, although most were undecided as to whether they would carry on for the Honours year. Most said this largely depended upon how they found the job situation when the time came to make applications. This was a source of anxiety for students. They were very much aware

of the consequences of educational cutbacks and teacher unemployment and of competition from what they regarded as 'better qualified' students. Nonetheless they were optimistic that 'in the end' they would succeed in getting an appointment.

Although a range of subject specialisms including English, Maths, Physical Education, Music, French and Science were represented in the two groups, I did not find divisions between students in terms of subject subcultures to be particularly significant as either an aspect of latent culture or of individual teacher identity (cf Lacey, 1977, Ball and Lacey, 1980). This may have been related to the way in which the teaching units of the professional studies course were organised. Although students spent some time in subject based teaching groups, their basic group identity derived from the organisation of the professional studies seminar groups on the basis not of subject specialisms but the age range of children the student intended to teach. This is not to say subject subcultures were unimportant to the development of the students' perspectives and identity, but simply that they did not emerge as a salient factor for analysis in this study. Of more significance was identification with a particular age range of children and phase of schooling. This made for a strong sense of group identity, but, within the groups preparing for secondary schools, divisions in terms of age and complicated by gender and work experience were evident. For example, in Paul Brown's group the three mature male students very much joined forces, drawing on their common background as ex-industry workers.

The younger, mainly female students regarded these three with some tolerance when they made their frequent references in teaching sessions to their children's schooling. Two students in their early twenties (Fay and Sean - the church organist) who had turned to teaching after a period of employment, did not appear to regard themselves as having a great deal in common with the younger female students and preferred to work independently. The only other male student in the group (Mike) spent most of his time, as did a mature female student in her early thirties who was entering teaching after motherhood (Jill), working with the younger students. Paul Brown's group therefore consisted of a core of mainly young female students which included one young male and one older female, a much smaller grouping of older male students and two relatively free-floating individuals who all had some experience of employment. This brief description of the interpersonal group relationships should not be regarded as indicating major divisions or conflicts between group members, it simply serves to give some understanding of the dynamics of the professional studies group as a background to the focus of the research.

Having introduced the tutors and students who are the focus of this study, it is now necessary to say something about how the data was collected.

The research techniques

Ethnographers are engaged in a social research process in which research questions, sociological theories, substantive problems and research techniques inter-relate. A number of researchers concerned with issues of methodology have pointed to the dangers of separating techniques or 'methods' from the research problems addressed (Bulmer, 1984, Burgess, 1986b), and indicate ways in which data collection techniques shape the findings and conclusions of research (Shipman, 1981, Ackroyd and Hughes, 1981). It is for this reason that the research methodology, the research process and the research techniques used in this study are discussed at three different points in the thesis. Chapter 1 has provided an account of the ethnographic tradition in educational research which serves to locate this study in its theoretical and methodological context. In this chapter, having introduced the research locale - the college, the B Ed course, the tutors and the student teachers - an outline of the techniques used in the fieldwork follows. An awareness of how the data was collected is important to an understanding of the findings discussed in the following chapters. However, in recognising that research is a social process in which problems, theories and methods are inter-connected, a detailed discussion of the research process is to be found in the appendix. An understanding of the practice and process of research is necessary to evaluate the findings and conclusions of the research project. The appendix therefore provides a reflexive account of the research process, making

explicit some of the difficulties and limitations involved in conducting the research and enabling some assessment of the validity of the findings. Since reflexive accounts are inevitably retrospective, it is appropriate to place this at the end of the thesis. The remaining part of this chapter is concerned with a brief, descriptive account of the research techniques used.

In line with an understanding of ethnography which emphasises its flexibility, pragmatism and appropriateness to the theoretical and substantive issues being addressed (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973, Burgess, 1984a, 1985a), a range of research techniques were adopted and adapted for the fieldwork at Haydon Park College. These included participant observation, unstructured interviews and the collection of documentary evidence.

Participant observation

Participant observation is the technique most commonly associated with, and sometimes equated with, ethnographic research. It is also, as Ackroyd and Hughes (1981, p 104) state, that method which is closely linked with the perspective in sociology 'which stresses the interactive and negotiated character of the social order, created in and through the meanings actors use to make sense of and interpret the world in which they live'. Given the interactionist orientation of this study, and its concern with understanding the process of teacher socialisation from the point of view of the students and tutors, participant observation had to be fundamental to the fieldwork at Haydon Park College.

Having negotiated access with relevant gatekeepers (the Dean of Faculty and course tutors), I joined a number of classes taking place during the last week of the induction course in June 1981. My purpose was to familiarise myself with the research setting and begin to establish field relationships. From September, I regularly attended weekly meetings of Paul Brown's group of students throughout the academic year, and sporadically attended meetings of Gerald Lewis's group. My identity as a researcher was known to both students and tutors, and I joined the meetings on that basis. My role as a teacher in another part of the college was also known to tutors at the outset, and gradually became known to students during the initial weeks of the fieldwork.

Depending on the purpose and activities of the group meetings and seminars, I adopted a role which varied from active participation as a student member of the group, to that of passive 'backseat' observer. My basic strategy was to 'fit in' as unobtrusively as possible, taking care not to disturb the 'naturalness' of the setting, but at the same time nurturing an identity as an eager knowledge-seeker and someone very interested in the problems and rewards of the process of becoming a teacher. I constantly asked questions of both students and tutors, I joined in with, and listened to, group conversations. I observed micro-teaching activities and participated in many of the learning activities organised by tutors. I did not, however, participate in tutor-led discussions with the group, and generally avoided offering my own views or knowledge unless directly asked. I not only

joined students for timetabled meetings with their professional studies tutor, but also for lunch and coffee breaks in the college canteen and coffee bar. This was invaluable as a means of developing relationships, and as a source of insight into students' own concerns and perspectives.

Inevitably I got to know some students better than others, some of whom became key informants at various times, providing perspective, analysis and information on events and situations. My relationship with different students varied and changed over time. For some I was always an 'outsider' or 'visitor', while for others I became a friend and confidant. For the most part however, I was regarded throughout the periods of fieldwork as somewhere between a co-student and a source of knowledge and experience with regard to teaching.

When the students were out in schools on periods of school experience, I sometimes joined one or the other of the tutors on their school visits. I accompanied the tutor as a 'colleague', and sat in on students' classes. As I was acutely aware of the tension and anxiety provoked by a visit from a school experience supervisor, on every occasion of visiting a student in school, I made a particular point of expressing interest and friendliness, playing down my inevitable identification with the tutor as observer and assessor. To do this, I emphasised my concern to understand the tutors' role in school experience and, when I felt it appropriate, I gave some positive, though vague feedback on the lesson I had seen, for example, that I had found the lesson content interesting or that the class had worked hard.

During these visits, as opportunities presented themselves, I also sat in on meetings with school staff in which, depending on the formality or purpose of the meeting, I adopted an observer role and/or asked questions about the school in general. Collecting data from school staff was not, however, a major part of this study.

At times it was possible to record data while 'in the field', but on most occasions it was necessary to 'write up' data in a research journal at the end of the day. For example, during the micro-teaching sessions which form the basis of Chapter 3, it was possible to make extensive notes on the discussion which ensued over each of the recorded 'lessons'. These notes then provided the basis for a fuller record of the sessions which was immediately written up. On the other hand, although it would have been possible to make notes while sitting in on students' lessons in schools, I felt this would have been far too distracting and disturbing to the student. Consequently much of the data describing lessons and some of that reporting conversations with students or tutors is extracted from fieldnotes rather than directly transcribed.

My use of participant observation as a technique of data collection and as the basis of my research strategy was primarily governed by pragmatic considerations of, 'fitting in' and establishing positive relationships with students and tutors, and gathering relevant data as unobtrusively as possible. This involved adapting both the method and my role in the field in ways I felt were appropriate to the specific setting and situation in which I found myself.

Interviews

In a discussion of his school based fieldwork, Denscombe (1985) notes that although informal discussion with teachers provided an indispensable source of information, it had its limitations in that it did not lend itself to systematic control or rigorous recording. Recognising these limitations of data collected through participant observation and informal conversation, most ethnographic studies complement these data with interview material (e.g. Burgess, 1983; Pollard, 1985a, Beynon, 1985).

I conducted interviews with student teachers after each of the three blocks of school experience. These interviews were recorded and later transcribed. Their purpose was twofold: to collect data relating to the students' experience in schools which for practical reasons it was impossible to observe, and to generate more systematic and comparative data relating to the students' developing teacher perspectives. The interviews, some of which were conducted with two or three students together, were basically unstructured. Although I had a number of key themes and questions which I tried to cover in all the interviews, students were given freedom to develop their answers as they wished and to a large extent to control the direction of the interview. Most of the interviews covered questions concerning basic details of schools and classes taught, initial encounters, relationships with school staff, best and worst lessons, characteristics of 'good' teachers and teaching, and so on. These topics provided the basic focus for, and

structure of, the interview, but students were free to raise issues which concerned them. No interview, on average lasting over an hour, exhausted the possible topics of discussion. Indeed, it would have been possible to conduct lengthier or additional interviews with each student before exhausting the relevant data, this however was impracticable given other demands on the students' time. For this reason also, it was not possible to interview every student after each of the school's experiences. Most of the students in Paul Brown's group were interviewed at least twice and six students from Gerald Lewis's group were also interviewed after the second school experience.

Towards the end of the period of fieldwork in June 1982, I formally interviewed the two professional studies tutors in some depth. I had, of course, engaged in 'informal interviewing' throughout the year, particularly when travelling to schools some distance away from the college to visit students. However, I wanted to supplement these data with more systematic and recorded material on their views regarding teachers, teaching and teacher education. Relatively formal interviews conducted at the end of the academic year allowed the tutors to comment upon incidents, situations and students in retrospect, as well as to share their own views and beliefs in a more 'educationist' as opposed to 'teacher' context (Keddie, 1971). These interviews also gave me the opportunity not only of collecting systematic data relating to the tutors' perspectives and perceptions of their role, but also of 'testing out' by means of triangulation, some of the themes that had become the focus of the research.

Documentary evidence

Throughout the time I was engaged in the fieldwork, I gathered documentary material. In my initial meetings with the Dean of the Faculty and the course tutors, I acquired material relating to the organisation of the teacher education course, including syllabuses and reading lists. Official booklets setting out objectives, content, structure and organisation of the course as a whole and the professional studies element in particular were invaluable in giving me a basic overview of how the course 'worked'. Such documents, along with handouts acquired in classes, also told me something of the 'official ideology' of teacher education at Haydon Park College. In addition, I gained access to written material produced by students and tutors. For example, students were required to keep a detailed school experience file which included an analysis of the school, schemes of work, lesson plans and evaluations. These files provided data complementing students' interview accounts of what happened in school. Such data were not regarded as providing wholly accurate descriptions of students' lessons - the files were a course requirement and to be assessed - but were analysed in terms of what they said about student teachers' perspectives (cf Purvis, 1984). Finally, I asked a number of students on their third school experience if they would keep a diary for a week while in school. In the event only four students actually did so, and this material was used to complement other data on school experience.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to provide background details for the analysis of the process of teacher socialisation which follows. Accordingly, it has provided a description of the research locale, the individuals and groups who are the focus of the research, and the techniques used to collect data.

In conclusion, it is important to remember that the central concern of an ethnographic study such as this is to provide a descriptive account that is faithful to the world-view of the participants being described. The focus is therefore on the subjective reality of the social context being studied. Such concerns shaped the present study and influenced the range of techniques employed. Yet it must be emphasised that techniques were not applied to research problems in any pre-determined or systematically structured manner. All field research depends on a complex interaction between the research problem, the researched and the researcher. Moreover, data collection and data analysis are shaped not only by the theoretical and conceptual approach of the researcher but by the research process itself. These are important issues to bear in mind when evaluating the findings and conclusions of research. It is for this reason that a more detailed and reflexive discussion of the research methodology is included in the appendix.

Notes

- 1 This division of responsibility serves to reinforce gender stereotypes regarding the teaching profession, particularly in relation to the assumption that women are somehow 'better suited' to teaching young children and men to the demands of secondary school teaching
- 2 In fact, one of these groups actually had two professional studies tutors, Paul Brown shared some of the teaching and responsibility for four students with Ben Wright who had a part-time post at the college
- 3 All names in this study are pseudonyms
- 4 These students do not feature very much in the substantive chapters of the thesis Since their background was unusual and their experience of the teacher education course and teaching practice significantly different from that of the other students, I decided not to use interview or observation material relating to them I have not however excluded data relating to all 'mature' students but have tried to indicate where data relates to such students

CHAPTER 3

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE DESK

This chapter develops a framework for the analysis of the professional socialisation of teachers by considering the way shared meanings and understandings emerge through interaction within a social context which is both enabling and constraining. It seems appropriate to explore these premises through an examination of a key stage in the development of a teacher perspective among student teachers, namely the first relatively formal and public adoption of the teacher role on the professional studies course¹. This took place in college, in a series of micro-teaching exercises² which were an important element of the induction programme for professional studies.

The analysis presented here concentrates specifically on the development of one aspect of the teacher perspective: pedagogy and its associated strategies. In describing and analysing a number of small-scale 'lessons' taught by student teachers, I examine the taken-for-granted assumptions and understandings about teachers and teaching which student teachers brought with them to the professional studies year. These may be regarded as the raw material - the recipe knowledge - from which students actively constructed pedagogical perspectives. Constructing a pedagogical perspective, although a creative activity on the part of students, was not however, an autonomous one. Socialisation involves interaction with significant others, in this case professional

studies tutors, and a process of definition, negotiation and redefinition/^{must} therefore take place. Within this process there can be much potential for conflict. The assumptions and understandings with which student teachers began their professional studies course, did not match up with tutors' definitions and assumptions regarding teaching. It is argued that the hidden curriculum of the micro-teaching sessions involved learning an alternative definition of pedagogy. In this way a brief but key episode in the construction of a professional - or at least student professional - identity highlights some of the central issues involved in professional socialisation. This chapter demonstrates that if the process of teacher socialisation is seen as the active and creative development of teacher perspectives, it is also a process which imposes certain constraints on the students' autonomy to develop such perspectives. The professional socialisation of teachers therefore involves differential power relationships between participants in the process, and this sets the context for negotiation. These are key themes of this study.

Micro-teaching

Bachelor of Education students at Haydon Park College actually began the Professional Studies in Education course immediately after examinations in the second year of their degree studies with a four-week Induction Course. The purpose of the induction course, as stated in the Course booklet, was 'to form a bridge between the theoretical orientation of the first two units in Education and the professional work of the third year [which is] interesting,

challenging and relevant to their [the students] expectations as aspiring teachers' The Course booklet, written by the professional studies tutors, stated this involved the consideration of three related themes

- a) the concept of Curriculum Development
- b) the professional and practical role of the teacher
- c) sources and resources as teaching aids

In practical terms, the induction course consisted of a number of activities for students First, a programme of lectures and seminars on various aspects of the Education Service and on 'curriculum development' Second, a series of micro-teaching exercises Third, a number of sessions on the use of resources and display techniques, including practical work Fourth, topic work students were expected to explore a topic over the four week period, and to link it with the lectures and seminars on curriculum development in order to produce a display showing the project in pictorial and written form This was to include stimulus material, an account of objectives and a 'topic web', preparing the topic for teaching The preparation of the display almost fully occupied the students in the last part of the third and fourth weeks of the induction course

If the display took up a great deal of the students' time and energy, it was the micro-teaching sessions which were regarded as the most important part of the induction course For most, this was 'the real thing': their first publicly evaluated attempt at teaching It was therefore a significant step in the process of becoming a student teacher and, more importantly, towards developing a teacher perspective.

Micro-teaching aims to provide scaled-down teaching encounters in which student teachers have the opportunity to gain experience in specific skills involved in the teaching process. The general aim for micro-teaching on the induction course at Haydon Park College, as stated in the course booklet, was 'to introduce, develop and improve some of the basic techniques of teaching'. This involved three separate exercises, each of which were videoed and replayed for review. In the first exercise each student read two short passages of their choice for approximately one minute each to the rest of the group. The objective of this exercise was that students should be able to identify and recognise the importance of 'Set' (the establishment and projection of oneself as a teacher in terms of stance, eye contact, voice and so on) and show subsequent improvement in these skills. Although the prospect of being videoed caused students considerable apprehension, this first exercise involved far less anxiety than the second and third, with which I am concerned. For the second and third exercises, students 'plan and teach a four-minute micro-lesson to peers who will not necessarily be knowledgeable about the material'.³ Formally, the third exercise is a repeat of the second, or as one tutor put it 'the same thing done better' (although in practice many of the students completely changed the content of their micro-lesson). The objectives of these two exercises were that students should be able to demonstrate an improvement in techniques of selecting, sequencing and presenting material. The course booklet provided a checklist of questions for evaluation under the heading 'Teaching Points',

(Table 1), and in addition set out a scheme for the analysis of teaching, (Table 2) Since these were discussed in a seminar before the micro-teaching exercises, they were available to help the student in preparing their micro-lessons

Table 1 The analysis of micro-lessons teaching points

Teaching Points

- 1 Was the use of posture, gesture and voice effective?
- 2 Were additional aids used, eg audio-visual, conceptual (analogies), etc?
 Was the student's position in relation to the teaching aid effective?
 Did any development of the diagram, picture or model follow a logical sequence?
 Was it well presented, eg right size, right amount of detail?
- 3 Was too much expected of the audience in terms of previous knowledge?
- 4 Did vagaries such as er, um, sort of, O K , etc appear?
- 5 Were key statements used and made obvious?
- 6 Was the explanation effective, eg opening remarks, undefined terms, summing-up, timing, use of questions and answers, etc?
- 7 Was the material selected, appropriate for a 4-minute lesson?

(from Professional Studies in Education,
 Induction Course booklet, Haydon Park
 College)

Table 2 The analysis of micro-lessons
 the teaching process

Some elements of the Teaching Process

- 1 Set - the establishment and projection of oneself
 as a teacher
 - 1 1 Facing a class stance, position
 - 1 2 Making contact gaining attention, eye contact,
 facial expression, gesture, voice
 - 1 3 Introduction clarity, exposition
 - 1 4 Voice tone, volume, clarity, projection,
 emphasis, speed

- 2 Presenting Material
 - 2 1 Use of questions probing, re-direction, response
 to answers, different types of
 questions (e g related-fact,
 Higher Order), different types
 of questioning techniques (e g
 individual, group, named,
 hands-up responses)
 - 2 2 Use of resources blackboard, overhead projector,
 film, tape, etc
 - 2 3 Techniques of involving questions, resources,
 exposition and voice as well as consider-
 ation of selecting and
 sequencing material
 - 2 4 Generating listening by children, specific
 specific individual or group tasks of
 activities reading, writing, drawing, etc

- 3 Assessing Response
 - 3 1 Listening to individuals, to group responses,
 to right/wrong answers
 - 3 2 Talking discussions, debates, dialogues
 - 3 3 Looking for attention, visual signs, responses
 - 3 4 Reading what pupils have written
 - 3 5 Marking specific assignments, tests,
 examinations
 - 3 6 Sixth sense feeling '

(from Professional Studies in Education,
Induction Course booklet, Haydon Park
College)

Although the micro-teaching exercises involved teaching in 'ideal' conditions - masses of time for preparation, a small group of attentive, well-behaved and sympathetic 'pupils' - micro-teaching sessions were lengthy, tiring and anticipated with horror by students. Each student had to prepare and 'perform' their lesson, it was commented upon, eventually replayed on video and dissected for criticism. With approximately fifteen students in a group, it could take all day and be simultaneously entertaining and tedious - particularly when the video would not work or the sound had not recorded'. Nonetheless, students recognised this as a valuable if anxiety-provoking exercise. In describing her 'disastrous' micro-teaching experiences, Becky elucidated with humorous hindsight, the awfulness of micro-teaching

Don't talk about it' Everyone nearly had nervous breakdowns about it, we couldn't sleep the night before. It's awful watching yourself - all your verbal mannerisms and you scratch yourself in embarrassing places. We had to teach something to the rest of the group and I did Origami, but I made the mistake of using too small a piece of paper so at the end no-one could see what I was doing'. I got pulled to bits for that. 4

At the same time students viewed it as one of the most useful parts of the induction course. In a seminar in which students were encouraged to give some feedback on the induction course, one student said he wished there was more micro-teaching, and most of the others readily agreed.

Micro-teaching was thus a significant experience for student teachers, and with this in mind I sat in on a number of micro-teaching sessions with groups of 'new' professional studies students. I became a semi-participating observer in that I sat with the students and was, as they were, a part

of the audience for the micro-lessons, participating in any activities set by the 'lesson teacher' such as doing sums or handling objects passed around. However, when each of the micro-lessons was being discussed by the students and tutor(s), I withdrew from the participation role and became an observer taking copious notes on what was said.

I will now turn to a consideration of the actual micro-lessons produced by the students. Each student did a four-minute lesson in which they were required to teach the rest of the group something. Although the micro-lessons were very different in terms of subject matter - from the beaks and feeding habits of garden birds to how to make a tasty cheese snack - in some ways they were very similar. Perhaps the most striking thing was the extent to which they could be seen as analogous to dramatic performances. Certainly the over-riding feeling of the mornings and afternoons on which micro-teaching was scheduled, was of a series of public solo 'performances' which each 'actor' was relieved to have completed.⁵ I shall return to this analogy later in the chapter.

Six micro-lessons

Clara

Clara takes some time to prepare for her lesson - she has a lot of materials. She sets up the OHP and pins up some posters of beautifully hand-written poems and sets out a variety of books, cards, pens and nibs on the table in front of her. Eventually she is ready and stands to attention with hands clasped, behind the desk. She smiles or rather grins at the camera to.

indicate she is about to start. The rest of the group quietens down and focuses attention on Clara who has a distinct lilting Welsh accent. "I am going to talk about calligraphy and give you some advice about how you might go about doing it." And, this is exactly what she does. In a clear, confident voice she explains what calligraphy is and tells us how it is done, illustrating her talk with examples on the OHP (though she is standing the 'wrong' side of the machine, so partially blocking the screen) pictures, pens and nibs. Clara maintains good eye contact with her audience and though she has some notes on the table which she sometimes picks up, she does not really refer to them. She knows her stuff. At the end of her four minutes she holds up some examples of calligraphy and says "That's it" to signify the end of her lesson.

Brenda

Brenda appears nervous and self-conscious as she sets up the OHP. Once this is done she stands looking 'ready' and when everyone's attention is on her, the camera starts and she goes into action. "Today, I am going to tell you about the life cycle of the frog", and this she does using a diagrammatic representation on the OHP. However Brenda is very nervous, as evidenced by the rash moving up her neck. She is hesitant and forgets what she wants to say, becomes lost for words and her talk is interspersed with lots of 'umms'. Her eye contact with the group is nervous and sporadic, and though she holds some notes she does not use them, preferring to use the diagram on the OHP as a guide to what she has to say. It is a very factual presentation with no questions. A talk

Cliff

Although Cliff keeps clearing his throat, he appears to be fairly relaxed and has a casual manner. He sets up the OHP, and perching on the edge of the desk next to it, signals he is ready to begin. "This morning I am going to teach you how to squash numbers and cast out the nines", and he plunges into a very detailed exposition based on four neatly-written, step-by-step OHP transparencies, which he uses as notes. These are complex and difficult to follow. Cliff has a low, monotonous voice which makes him sound rather bored and casual. Moreover, he tends to talk to the OHP, the screen or the camera rather than the group. He asks no questions and towards the end loses his train of thought and keeps switching the OHP transparencies which becomes quite confusing - minor panic. This is very long - $8\frac{1}{2}$ minutes.

Damon

Damon is very tall, tends to stoop and has a speech mannerism which means he 'umms' a great deal. He sets up the OHP and unpacks his plastic carrier bag on to the table at the front of the class: bowls, knife, spoon, bread, butter, a jar of pickle. The rest of us look on with amusement, it is going to be a cookery demonstration. When all is set out to his satisfaction, Damon says he is ready and begins:

"As students living on a grant which doesn't stretch too far, we need cheap, healthy food which is quick to prepare. Today I am going to give you a recipe for a cheese snack which is quick, cheap and nourishing. "

Damon proceeds with a demonstration, but he seems extremely nervous and hesitant, his speech is punctuated with numerous 'umms' and 'errs', and at one point he is lost for words and says "forgot my line"⁶. At first it seems as though he has forgotten to switch on the OHP, but it appears as a deliberate ploy.

"while I do the buttering, I'll put the recipe up for you" Damon tells us that the cheese and pickle must be mixed together before being spread on the bread, and he goes to take a spoon of pickle from the jar - only the spoon is too big, and will not fit into the neck of the jar' While most of the group laugh politely and giggle, Damon smiles and says " only the spoon won't fit, so we'll use the knife instead" The rest of the 'audience' dissolves into laughter

Pattie

Pattie has a slide projector which she takes some time positioning and focusing In addition, she pins up a large diagram of a canal lock She positions herself perched on a desk next to the projector with her back to the group and camera, and says she is ready over her shoulder "Today I am going to explain how a lock works" It is obvious that she has written out her lesson word for word because she reads from some notes as she shows the slides She has a low but clear voice and injects some humour, encouraging us to visit locks by telling us that a lot of them are to be found near pubs She is still perched on the desk with her back to us In explaining how the lock actually works, Pattie moves to the diagram pinned to the blackboard and talks us through it without recourse to her notes Having done this, she grins and says "finished'" However, Gerald Lewis, the tutor, asks "Is working locks more difficult for women, since it obviously requires a degree of strength?" Pattie answers enthusiastically with reference to 'last weekend on the waterways', in contrast to her 'talk' she is now much more animated

Penny

Penny, petite and chatty - she has taken a very , active part in commenting on the lessons this morning - prepares for her own lesson. She has a large diagram of the heart and a large model of the human heart which can be taken apart. Throughout the 'lesson', she holds and fidgets with a ruler, using it to point to things on the diagram. She says she is going to explain blood circulation in the heart. It is a very factual presentation interspersed with some 'do you know what this is/does?' type questions directed at individual members of the group. Penny has notes and refers to them once or twice, but otherwise talks herself through a mass of information. A couple of times Penny appears to be frantically thinking 'what next?' - witness several 'umms' and slight pauses. After five minutes, when Penny has not nearly finished, Gerald Lewis, operating the camera, says "five minutes", which induces panic in Penny, as she attempts to cut down the length of her talk. She continues for another three minutes, obviously rushing through her material. Having finished the 'talk', she says, "Any questions?" No-one seems to have a question and Penny says in surprise, "What, no-one? Are you sure?"

These six descriptions of micro-lessons represent a random selection from a large number observed. They illustrate both the variety of the lessons produced and their common characteristics. This is not to say they are typical - there is no such thing as a typical micro-lesson. However, common features did characterise the lessons. These features contribute to the conceptualisation of the micro-lessons as performances.

- a) the structure of the lessons around 'teacher talk'
- b) the use of and reliance upon notes
- c) the general lack of 'pupil participation' In particular the limited use of questioning on the part of the 'teacher'
- d) the use of visual aids

Teacher talk

Every micro-lesson I observed revolved around 'teacher talk' - the majority of the lessons exclusively so Teacher talk was the essence of each lesson, and each lesson was organised and structured around what the teacher had to say indeed, for many of the students the lesson - and thus teaching - was synonymous with talking

The teacher talk of each lesson can be very simply classified into three basic categories

- a) statement of intent (i.e. what the lesson is about)
- b) the 'talk' (i.e. the content of the lesson, be it the development of orchestral music or the life-cycle of a frog)

All lessons included a) and b), however, a minority included a third form of teacher talk

- c) questions addressed to pupils

The micro-lessons fell into one of two distinct patterns, either straightforward teacher talk without questions or else a talk with questions Students thus adopted one of two different strategies

All the students began with a statement of what the lesson was to be about. This statement often made explicit the assumption that teaching essentially involved talking

'This morning I am going to talk to you about '

'Today I am going to tell you about '

'My talk is about '

Such statements also made it clear that the lesson was to be oriented around teacher talk.⁷ Lessons which began like this (and others which did not) invariably developed into a 'talk' or mini lecture, usually with illustration. Clara, Brenda, Cliff and Pattie's lessons all showed this tendency, and Damon's micro-lesson, although intended as a demonstration, could also be justifiably included in the same pattern.

'Giving a talk' was the most common pattern that the micro-lessons took. This was not just a matter of content or form of teacher talk, it was also reflected in the student's stance or positioning and their reliance upon notes. Gill was typical.

Gill prepares for her micro-lesson by putting up a large 'home-made' diagram of what appears to be the various sections of the orchestra. Having done this, she picks up her notes and stands to one side of the diagram, signalling to the camera that she is ready to begin. "Right - I am going to give you a brief summary of the development of the orchestra". Using the diagram, which represents the orchestra as it is today, Gill gives her talk in a clear voice. She does not move from her position, only turning slightly when pointing to some aspect of the diagram. There is a lot of information and Gill keeps referring to the notes she holds, though she does not read them.

Like Gill, many of the students adopted a position, standing squarely at the front of the class, where they could see and be seen by their audience. Grasping notes, they often looked awkward and ill at ease (undoubtedly partially a function of nerves). Pauline, commenting on her own micro-lesson, put the problem succinctly

I had difficulty knowing where to stand. I was going to sit down at first, but as I was working things [OHP] I felt it wouldn't be right. But standing up meant I couldn't put the papers down. I didn't want to hold them, but on the desk they were too low and I couldn't see them. I felt I shouldn't hold them. 8

One gets the impression that a lectern would not have been amiss'. Not all the students found themselves adopting this awkward 'face the audience' stance. Others had a much less uncomfortable, more natural stance. Damon and Pattie, and to some extent Clara and Cliff, came into this second group. The essential difference seemed to be having something practical to do, such as demonstrating how to do something or operating equipment. This injected some minimal kind of teacher activity into the lesson. Those students who were relatively unoccupied tended to adopt a more self-conscious stance.

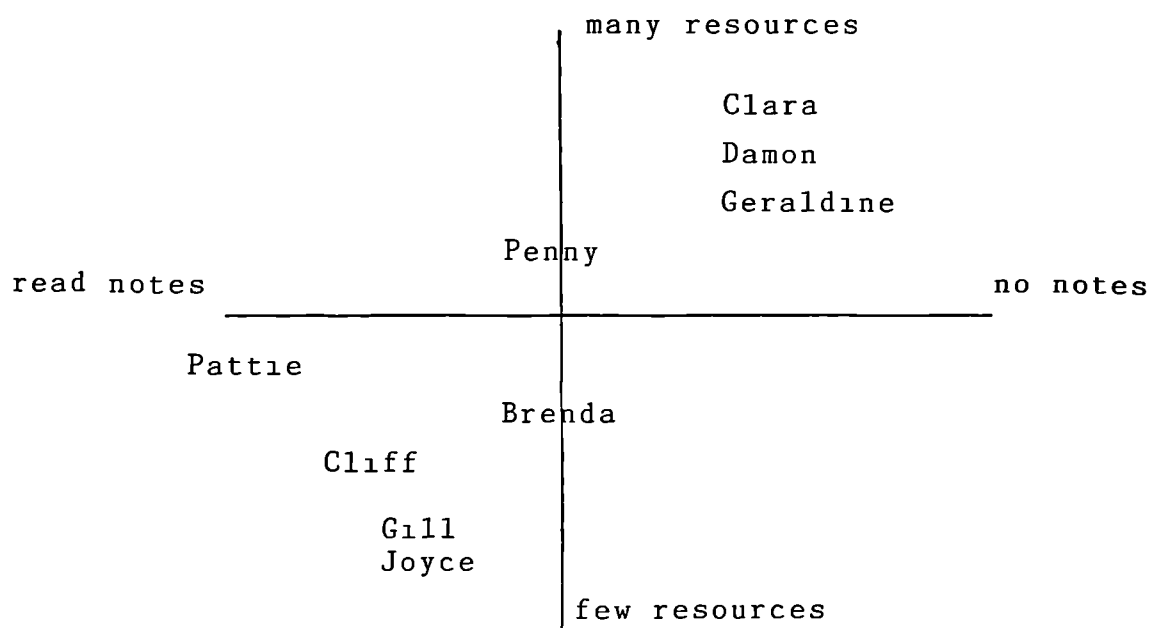
Joyce

Having set up the OHP, Joyce tells us that she is going to talk about the Girl Guides Association. She starts by asking "Has anyone been in the Guides, or Scouts or Brownies or Cubs?" Several hands go up. Joyce smiles in acknowledgement and says "A few". But now she plunges into her 'talk'. She switches on the OHP to reveal the Guide Promise and in an enthusiastic voice takes us through each part explaining

its origin and intent Standing still and looking a bit awkward, at first Joyce refers to the notes she is holding quite a bit, but once the OHP is on she forgets and her talk becomes more spontaneous Having gone through the Promise, Joyce asks if there are any questions and two members of the group ask her questions

In general, students who relied most on notes had least to do activity-wise in terms of managing visual aids and resources This can be represented diagrammatically by plotting the lessons along two dimensions signifying the amount of visual aids or resources and the use of notes

Figure 1 The relationship between use of notes and resources in micro-lessons



Like nearly all the students, Joyce and Gill had a set of notes which they used as a prompt to the lesson. Of those students who had notes, the extent to which they were used varied quite considerably Pattie, for example, actually

read her talk for a large part of the five minutes, but this was fairly unusual. Most students who had notes referred to them rather than read them, but some referred to their notes rather more than others. Joyce began by consulting her notes constantly, and then as she gained confidence, the notes assumed less importance and she simultaneously became more natural and spontaneous. Pattie 'came alive' when asked questions for which she was quite unprepared. But what of those students who had no notes at all? It was certainly not the case that they were necessarily more natural and spontaneous.⁹ It is important to be clear about the nature of the lesson notes. They were essentially 'lines', either simply the text of the speech or the script of a one-person play with stage directions (switch on OHP, hand out pictures). In the same way as actors must learn their lines to deliver speeches effectively, so many of the students learnt their lines, even though the majority felt it permissible to appear on the classroom stage with their scripts. Some students learnt their lines better than others, some forgot their lines. Many of the students had actually rehearsed their lessons, if only to time them.

Paul Brown [the tutor] asked Rick how he felt about his lesson

Rick My main worry was that I wouldn't get through it in four minutes, I had timed it at home and it was taking eight minutes. I suppose I was more relaxed then.

PB Practising in front of the bathroom mirror'

Pattie Kitchen timer',¹⁰

Geraldine had not only thoroughly learnt her 'lines' but was determined to keep her lesson down to the allotted five

minutes 11

Geraldine appears to have a great many resources for her micro-lesson, it takes quite some time to prepare setting up the OHP, pinning up diagrams and posters, laying out books and handouts and cards on the table which she has moved to a central position at the front of the class. Signalling her readiness to the camera, Geraldine tells us that her topics are the methods and sources of data used by historians. Her style is very different from the micro-lessons observed so far this morning. She has no notes and asks lots of questions - "Do you know what?" and "Can anyone tell me?", both to the class and to named individuals. Moreover she makes key points clear by saying "It is important to remember that". A little light relief occurs when Geraldine gives out some postcards and says to Joyce in her best schoolmarm voice "Can you pass them round? Quickly please". Everyone giggles and Joyce pulls a face. In fact, speed is the defining characteristic of Geraldine's lesson, not only does she move about from the OHP to the blackboard and hand out resources at a fairly high speed, but the pace at which she talks is breathtaking - she is obviously trying hard to get it all into four minutes. A swift summary of the main points at the end and Geraldine just about manages to gasp "Any questions?", and looks greatly relieved when there are none.

Given the amount of material Geraldine covered in little more than five minutes, and the fact she managed to ask questions, emphasise important points and summarise, it was evident that she 'knew her stuff'. She may not have learnt 'lines' word for word, but she did know exactly what she was going to say, including the questions she was going to ask.

Moreover, the speed at which she presented her material suggested that she had rehearsed her performance. Indeed, she told me she had practised on her flatmates.

The analogy of micro-lessons as dramatic performances is reinforced when one examines the strategies students adopt to present their lessons. Most students produced a set of notes which acted as a 'script', and many held on to this 'script' throughout the four-minute lesson, although some did abandon notes as the lesson progressed. The notes or 'script' varied in form from a concrete script written out word for word, to a diagram or OHP transparency which was simply used as a guide. Students who did not use notes still presented their lessons as performances, they merely learned their lines more effectively. The speech/play analogy is further reinforced by evidence that some students rehearsed their talks and others forgot their lines - some students even talked about learning lines or forgetting them. Indeed, to some extent the performance analogy was used by students themselves.

Questioning

The micro-lessons produced by the students varied significantly as to whether or not the teacher asked questions. This is best viewed in terms of a continuum of questioning strategies while the majority of students included no questions at all, a few included one or two questions, and others, for example Geraldine and Simon - below - interspersed their whole lesson with questions.

Simon

In preparation for his lesson, Simon sets up the OHP and the slide projector and gathers several large posters on the desk at the front of the class. Simon sits at the desk and says he is going to look at the three stages in the life-cycle of a river. He does this by using diagrams, posters and slides, and by asking direct questions to elicit factual information about the main characteristics of rivers at different stages, e.g. "What do we call the part of a river which opens into the sea?" If he gets no response, he directs the question by naming someone, "Come on, who hasn't said anything yet? Cliff". Simon's presentation is unhurried and clear, and he uses the OHP to summarise in some detail the main characteristics of each stage. After describing each stage, he hands round large pictures and slides of rivers and tells us what to look for, this means Simon stands up and does not return to his seat. He is silent as people pass round the pictures. Although he attempts to cram a great deal into four minutes, he still gives a brief summary of the main points to conclude the lesson.

I do not intend here to go into a detailed analysis of the types of questions and questioning strategies utilised by the students, this would require fairly complex observation schedules which I did not undertake.¹² However, a cursory analysis shows that other than the 'Any questions?' strategy with which Penny, Geraldine and Joyce finished their lessons, the questions asked by the student teachers tended to be of the 'do you know?' variety. Penny and Geraldine both used this type of question to elicit information and facts from the 'pupils', and both used the technique of

directing questions to individuals as well as to the class as a whole ¹³

It is important not to overemphasise the difference in form between micro-lessons which included questions and those which did not. Even lessons such as Geraldine's and Simon's were essentially 'talks', in the sense that the objective of the lesson was to inform and teacher talk outweighed pupil talk. Furthermore, the assumptions about teaching and teachers which shaped the micro-lesson, as I shall argue below, were essentially the same. However, in practice if not intention, one student deviated from this model. Yvette's lesson was distinctive in that it was centred on a particular questioning strategy ¹⁴

Yvette introduces the topic of her lesson as 'the uses of trees', then she says: "Now, while I write the title on the blackboard, you think of some uses of trees". She writes up the title and turns back to the class. Members of the class offer contributions. Yvette accepts them by writing them up on the board, or by making the student expand on their suggestion, asking them for examples, getting them to give general categories for use, e.g. food, timber, etc. It seems that they are not always providing the 'right' answer, and so Yvette throws it back and elaborates on contributions herself so that she can get the 'right'/correct word to go up on the board. This takes some time, but when she has a fairly long list, Yvette switches on the OHP to show a detailed diagram of the uses of the various parts of a tree. She draws attention to those uses which the class has missed. Once she has completed this, she says, "I think I'll stop there", even though she has a good deal more material prepared (another OHP transparency)

In contrast to the other students, Yvette focused her lesson around 'pupils' contributions and knowledge. In this way, the balance of Yvette's lesson in terms of teacher talk fell into category 3 - questioning - rather than category 2 - talk. Moreover, Yvette used questions to provoke thought on the part of the pupils rather than simple inculcation and recall of factual information.

Resources and visual aids

It is evident from the examples given that there was a heavy reliance on resources, especially visual aids. Posters, pictures, OHP's, slides, tapes and working models were all used. In fact, I did not observe a single micro-lesson without the use of at least the OHP or a carefully-drawn and labelled diagram. Most used a variety of these. Indeed, some of the visual aids produced, such as Clara's examples of calligraphy, were stunning and had obviously taken hours to produce. I was surprised by this proliferation of visual aids: a micro-lesson without visual aids would almost certainly have been criticised, by both students and tutors.

This emphasis on visual aids is easily explained. A large part of the induction course was spent examining display techniques and the use of resources. Students visited the Resources Centre in the College Library, learnt to use the various pieces of equipment and did practical work with Art tutors. This was linked to their project and display work, and the emphasis on resources and visual aids was reflected in their micro-teaching. I was also surprised that only one student used chalk and the blackboard. The traditional

stand-by of the teacher seemed to be totally ignored by these student teachers. This was particularly striking in the case of Cliff and, to a lesser extent, Damon. Cliff used four OHP's to work through a number of maths examples and eventually became very confused switching from one to the other. Damon used his OHP as a recipe-list of the ingredients for his cheese snack. In both cases it was suggested in the discussion of the lesson that it would have been more economical and practical to have used the blackboard. There seemed to be a real reluctance among the student teachers to use the blackboard - other than to pin things to. In one sense this was a rational decision. It may look easy, but first attempts at writing on the blackboard suggest that it is a clumsy skill which takes a great deal of practice to master. The results are often embarrassing writing which is either too large or too small or awry. In fact, although the students had spent some time on lettering techniques in the Art Department, they had no formal opportunity to practise using a blackboard. Since they were practised in the use of OHP's, and since it is possible to prepare them beforehand, it may have been easier and less anxiety-provoking to substitute OHP's for the blackboard.

Pedagogical perspectives

In discussing a number of common features of the students' micro-lessons - emphasis on 'teacher talk', use of and reliance on notes, general lack of pupil activity and use of visual aids - I have drawn an analogy representing the micro-lessons as 'performances', one-handed playlets

complete with speeches, lines, script, props and minimal audience participation. Being aware of the limitations of analogies, I claim very little for this one. Its explanatory value is negligible, but it is an analogy which emerged from the data. Students had 'stage nerves' and were concerned to give a good performance, knowing it would be subject to the criticism of their peers and tutors. It was a public performance. The analogy thus serves to convey a feel for the situation on the days micro-teaching was to take place, and to draw attention to the main features of the micro-lessons. We now turn to a consideration of the conceptualisations of the nature of teaching implicit in the micro-lessons.

We are primarily concerned with the development of teacher perspectives, but here in particular with one aspect of this: the pedagogical perspective of the student teachers. The term 'pedagogy' at its simplest refers to the principles and methods of teaching.

The ways in which a teacher carries out his task of presenting new knowledge and experience to his pupils, and generally manages the social life of his classroom

(Esland, 1977, p 6)

Pedagogy includes not only visible teacher behaviour, what might be termed pedagogical strategies, but also the invisible meanings, assumptions and intentions which lie behind action. Pedagogy is a central part of a teacher's perspective vis-à-vis their main activity: teaching.

Perspectives are, of course, shaped by a set of beliefs and ideas concerning teaching and education: educational ideologies.¹⁵ More importantly, however, perspectives are partially derived from what Schutz (1972) has called 'recipe

knowledge', that is, the everyday, commonsense knowledge which emerges indiscriminately through the pressure of social constraints, and which is applied automatically. Pedagogical knowledge particularly is of this kind.

Pedagogical perspectives, like the teacher perspective of which they are a part, develop throughout the process of teacher socialisation. This means that they will be influenced not only by the pedagogies of tutors and supervising teachers on school experiences but also the pedagogies of teachers from student teachers' own school careers. Moreover, the pedagogical cultures of the training institution and of the schools in which students are placed will also exert subtle influence. It must, however, be emphasised that pedagogy is a social construction actors do not simply draw on pedagogies which exist independently of them. Pedagogy is an active construction derived from the application of assumptions and meanings to a concrete classroom situation: the socially constructed solution to the reality of classroom life. The concern, then, is with subjective dimensions of pedagogy, that is, how teachers think of their classroom tasks and relationships, and how they come to structure teaching situations in particular ways. In short, the sets of understandings and frames of reference which are fundamental to the ways in which teachers perform in the classroom.

Every teacher approaches the daily interaction of the classroom with particular assumptions and schemes of interpretation. These contain the relevance structures by which he judges the meaning of classroom phenomena and by which he is prompted to act in certain ways.

(Esland, 1977, p 15)

Confronted with a teaching situation, albeit an artificial one, at the start of the professional studies course, the students brought to their micro-lessons particular understandings of teaching and learning. These constitute the students' pedagogical perspectives. This perspective was not consciously thought out, highly developed or permanent. The pedagogical strategies and assumptions revealed in the micro-lessons were little more than taken-for-granted responses to the problem of teaching a micro-lesson, and as such, drew on commonsense knowledge about teaching and what teachers do. As a coherent pedagogical perspective, it was fragile and easily challenged by the professional tutors. Nonetheless, the assumptions and understandings revealed represented central aspects of the students' teacher perspective at that time.

There have been a number of attempts to describe what are variously called, alternative styles of teaching, educational ideologies, teacher perspectives or pedagogies. The most common approach has been to contrast two polarised types, for example teacher centred and child centred (DES, 1967) or transmission and interpretation (Barnes and Shemilt, 1974). Dichotomous approaches, however, are problematic in that they understate the complexity of teaching and learning. Thus there have been some attempts to go beyond dichotomies, for example Bennett and Jordan (1975) establish twelve types of teaching style, but this still appears to be selecting from a wider range of alternatives. Another approach to describing teacher perspectives is to establish dimensions or criteria on which teaching can

vary independently, and then to plot all the combinations which are possible. Some of these will exist in practice, others will not. Hammersley (1977), for example, differentiates a large number of dimensions, which he organises into five groups. The first is concerned with the definition of the teacher's role, the second with the conceptualisation of pupil action, the third and fourth relate to conceptions of knowledge and learning and the last with preferred techniques. These five dimensions might be taken as the set of assumptions which together make up a teacher's pedagogical perspective.

My purpose is not to construct yet another typology or even to explore an alternative set of dimensions from which such a typology might be constructed, but rather to describe the pedagogical perspective of the student teachers at the start of their professional studies course, in terms of the implicit assumptions about teaching, learning and knowledge revealed by the micro-lessons. In so doing, I am not suggesting that the assumptions and ideas implicit in the micro-lessons give a complete or comprehensive insight into the student teachers' pedagogical perspective. To do so on the basis of five minutes teaching, let alone in the presence of a video camera, would be ridiculous. Micro-teaching situations are artificial teaching situations, but at the same time they may be seen as providing 'ideal' conditions for teaching. It is this latter facet of micro-teaching which enables us to unpack the micro-lessons in terms of pedagogical perspective and gain some insight into student teachers' taken-for-granted assumptions about teaching, learning and knowledge. 16

Having stressed the diversity of teaching styles and perspectives, it must be said that the most striking things about the student teachers' micro-lessons were their similarities rather than their differences. In describing the characteristics and strategies used in these micro-lessons, I have shown that the lessons fell into two patterns, the second of which was essentially a variation on the first. This leads me to argue that the students, with perhaps one exception, shared a common pedagogical perspective.

First, all the students adopted an authoritative teacher role, a role legitimated in terms of expertise grounded in knowledge rather than method. The claim to authority was that the teacher knew more than the pupils, rather than being more skilled in the processes and methods of teaching and learning. For the students, what made them teachers was their possession of knowledge which the pupils lacked, knowledge which was to be transmitted to the pupils. The teacher role was narrowly defined as the teaching of particular skills or the imparting of specific knowledge, telling how to do it, or telling all about it. In short, the teacher role was about informing and instructing. All the micro-lessons either purported to inform the group about something, for example, frogs or rivers, or told them how to do something, for example, make a cheese snack or squash numbers. As such, the students claimed a high degree of control over the pupils and their learning. All the lessons were structured and paced by the teacher rather than the pupils. Indeed, in all the lessons the 'pupils' were required to adopt a predominantly passive role, though this varied in degree. In a minority of

lessons, pupils were required to participate, but only in terms of demonstrating recall of factual information, rarely were they asked to think or participate in the lesson in a similarly active way. An exception was Yvette's lesson on 'the uses of trees', which was much more pupil-centred in that the group were required to participate actively and their contributions formed the basis of the lesson. However, for the majority of students, the implication of their teaching strategy was that learning takes place by hearing about and seeing pictures of something with which one is not previously familiar, rather than by 'doing'. All the students assumed that having informed or instructed, the 'pupils' would automatically have 'learnt'. There was very little attempt to assess the extent or quality of learning. Furthermore, this definition of teaching implies that learning is about the reproduction of the teacher's knowledge, rather than the production of new knowledge. This means that lessons were by definition teacher-centred.

Modifying pedagogy the tutors' perspective

Having examined the implicit assumptions which constitute the basic dimensions of the student teachers' pedagogical perspectives, we now turn to a consideration of the micro-teaching sessions from the viewpoint of the professional studies tutors.

While the explicit purpose of the micro-teaching exercises was to develop specific skills involved in the teaching process¹⁷, the 'hidden curriculum' of these sessions was about changing students' teacher perspectives and modifying

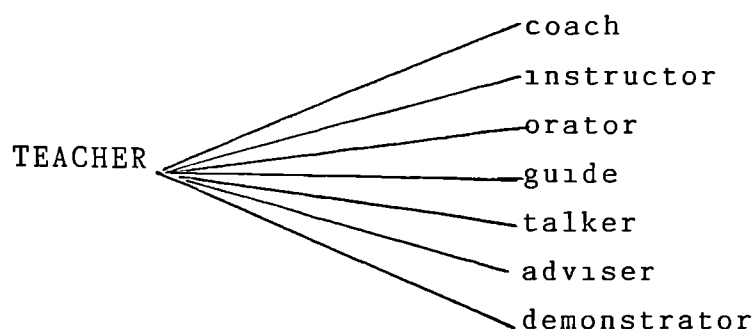
their teaching strategies. The students' pedagogical perspective which was teacher-centred and oriented around transmission was defined by the tutors as inadequate, or at least inappropriate. The tutors, as I show below, were concerned to lay the foundations of a different pedagogical perspective and set of strategies. In this way, the development of a teacher perspective by the students, essentially an active and creative process, is seen to be constrained by the definitions, perspectives and ideologies of the professional tutors.¹⁸

As far as the professional studies tutors were concerned, the students were not really teaching at all.¹⁹ This was made particularly clear to one group of students

Gerald Lewis [the tutor] makes two columns on the blackboard and writes TEACHER in the first column

GL O K , now can you think of other people who do things that a teacher does?

The students call out a variety of occupations which GL writes in the second column - he ends up with this diagram



GL adds organiser and resource provider to the list

GL What point do you think I am trying to make?

Simon That the teacher is all of those?

GL Yes, the teacher has to be all of these but much more - the magic ingredient is missing
A demonstrator is successful if he demonstrates

and that's all with the teacher the criteria of success is change in the audience - mental, physical or emotional state question is, have you taught something You should be able to test this, to monitor it in one or other learning domain if you haven't done this then you haven't been teaching them I'm constantly going into schools and seeing teachers not doing this, they're highly paid technicians or resource providers You are teachers, anyone can give a talk, but you must provide the extra ask is the person teaching? how do you know this? do you know the audience has learnt something or just entertained them? This is easier said than done the most crucial point is teaching 20

Gerald Lewis was quite emphatic in asserting that teaching involves more than simply talking, instructing or informing, that is, more than the student teachers have been doing so far According to Gerald Lewis, teaching is an activity which can be differentiated from other similar activities by a 'magic ingredient' (indefinable or difficult to define) and measurable in terms of pupil, not teacher outcome Teaching can only be assessed by reference to learning and teachers must monitor their own teaching in these terms This was the essence of the pedagogical perspective which the professional tutors sought to establish with the student teachers

Paul Brown explicated this perspective when he led the discussion following the videoing of the first three micro-lessons in the session These were typical micro-lessons in terms of the characteristics described previously Tom attempted to teach the mathematical concept of squashing numbers Alice chose the topic of garden birds while Angie said she would explain the process whereby wool gets from the sheep to the shop Only Tom's lesson included any questions

directed to the 'pupils' Like Gerald Lewis, Paul Brown defined teaching as an activity which can only be conceptualised and assessed in terms of learning Teaching is not simply what teachers do - by implication a teacher has only been teaching if learning has taken place This is the criterion of success The first part of the discussion was centred around an assessment of the three lessons in terms of this criterion

Paul Brown [the tutor] opens the discussion

PB What have you learnt? If you've all learnt everything then the lessons have been successful and we can all go home () what have you learnt?

Penny Learnt the concept of squashing numbers, or how to squash them

Joyce Casting out the nine's

PB then asks Gill to do a sum he has written on the board, Gill attempts to work it out verbally and there is some discussion as to whether she is right or wrong ()

PB What else have you learnt?

David About birds adapting their beaks

PB Give me an example

Several students give examples of birds and the kind of beak they have

PB I'm trying to tease out what you've learnt Was there too much detailed information on the birds?

Alice (matter-of-factly) They've only missed out one

PB Right Fair enough Good What about Angie's?

Pattie Learnt about the four stages in the processing of wool

Jenny What was decarbonising? I wasn't sure about that

Angie explains decarbonising

PB O K Tom, was this what you expected them to learn?

Tom I wanted them to see that casting out the nines was the same as squashing numbers and they seemed to understand this

PB Alice?

Alice I wanted them to tell the different ways of classifying birds' feeding and the methods they used, and to recognise them from the pictures

PB Angie?

Angie I wanted them to know the different processes in making wool, and I'm happy they learnt that

PB Was there anything anyone didn't understand?

Jenny Decarbonising, that was sort of slipped in

Angie I did actually say that Perhaps you weren't listening

Angie explains decarbonising once more

Joyce I got lost on the birds I

Cliff I lost concentration half way through, there was too much there

PB Have you learnt anything more now, after sitting and talking about the lessons?

Jenny Decarbonising, now it's been explained

PB So you learnt by participating ²¹

Implicitly from the tutor's viewpoint, this was an attempt to get the students thinking about teaching in terms of learning outcomes As part of the process of impressing a different pedagogical perspective on the students, it represented a direct clash of perspectives At least two of the three students who presented a lesson were confident that the 'pupils' actually learnt what was intended, and

nearly all the 'pupils' were certain they had 'learned' (except perhaps Jenny and decarbonising) Paul Brown, however, set out to challenge this, to suggest and to demonstrate that they had not learnt as effectively as they initially assumed His questioning of the group, asking them for examples and to do calculations, may be interpreted in this light

In challenging the assumptions and perspective of the students, and, more explicitly, assessing the teaching strategies of the students, perhaps the most important point that the tutors wanted to impress upon the students was that teaching must involve pupil activity Learning is more effective, it was emphasised, when pupils are involved and participating learning should be active rather than passive As Paul Brown said to the group in commenting upon a micro-lesson

As a general principle of good teaching, we would say, have pupils active and involved
If you just stand there and talk, this is not as good

This was virtually an instruction to the students to adopt a particular teaching strategy At a minimum, pupil participation involves questioning Questioning was central to the activity of teaching from the tutors' perspective

In discussing the students' micro-lessons, the tutors explicated a number of functions of questioning as fundamental to pedagogy First, it maintains pupils' attention and second, it facilitates learning

PB () Tom kept attention by asking questions early on

Clara I dreaded him asking me a question

Penny Yes, but it makes you concentrate

PB Yes, if you involve the class, their attention is held more

Angie But there wasn't anything I could ask about wool

PB It depends on the type of question You can ask opinion questions or ask them what colour the wool was Right, now we'll run the lessons through and I want you all to reflect on them and consider where questions would be appropriate ²²

Questioning also enables the teacher to assess and evaluate the lesson in terms of learning outcomes Gerald Lewis continuously emphasised the importance of getting feedback from pupils

GL think about feedback, have a specific aim, in some way you've got to establish that they've learnt something () Many of us [tutors] in observing lessons, come out of a good lesson and say, "and they actually taught something as well" - implying that this is a bonus Which is better, entertaining or teaching? Or are they the same thing? It's a difficult transition from student to teacher You've all got the skills of talking but you need something extra Right, now I'll take my life in my hands I'll teach something in two minutes - two minutes using the good old method of rote learning Who has a watch? () I'm going to teach you the order of the planets using a mnemonic - what's that?

Steve A sentence with the first letter of each word representing the planet's name

GL then gets the group to repeat the sentence following the capital letters he has written on the board, twice with him and once without him Then checking that he has some time left, he rubs off the letters from the

board and tests a number of students "what is the second/fifth/third planet out from the sun?" They all answer correctly and GL breathes a sigh of relief that they do so ²³

In contrast to the students who assumed that 'pupils' learned passively and automatically, the tutors stressed the importance of assessing active learning. Such assessment would not only be of the pupils' effective learning but also of the teacher's success in teaching. In his two-minute lesson, Gerald Lewis explicitly claimed expertise in terms of method much more than knowledge - he stated that he would teach something using a particular method rote learning. The actual teaching was pupil-centred and involved their active participation. He assessed learning by asking questions and regarded the correct answers as validation of the success of his teaching.

In describing the pedagogical perspective which the tutors sought to impress upon the students, I have focused on extracts from fieldnotes which set out that perspective most clearly and coherently. Of course, the tutors were not consistently emphatic and explicit in spelling out that perspective. Nonetheless, it was evident that they held a teacher perspective which was, in a number of respects, at odds with the teacher perspectives brought to the course by the students ²⁴

Although the tutors, like the students, seemed to have an authoritative definition of the teacher role, unlike the students, this was legitimated in terms of expertise grounded in method rather than knowledge. This was emphasised by

tutors in the insistence that teaching is more than simply giving a talk teachers, it was argued, are skilled specialists in producing 'learning' ²⁵ Of course the matter is one of degree, I am not suggesting that tutors emphasise expertise in method to the exclusion of expertise in subject matter The teacher role is not so much about informing and instructing as about facilitating learning, and this, it was emphasised, is best achieved through pupil participation This means that although there would seem to be agreement with students that the teacher should have a high degree of control over the pupils and their learning, there is radical disagreement about the role of pupils While the students expected pupils to adopt a passive role, the tutors emphasised the importance of pupils being active Learning, it is implied, takes place by participating and doing lessons should be pupil-centred and the balance between teacher talk and pupil talk should be redressed Furthermore, for the tutors it was important to get feedback teachers must monitor their own teaching by assessing pupils' learning One cannot assume that pupils have successfully 'learnt' or, correspondingly that a lesson has been effectively taught, this must be tested However the criterion of successful learning did seem to be - in agreement with the students - the reproduction of existing knowledge rather than the production of new knowledge

Pedagogy redefined

In analysing the micro-teaching sessions, I have shown how they involve a fundamental clash of pedagogical perspectives between students and tutors, with the latter using the exercises to attempt to redefine the students' pedagogical perspective. In this sense, the hidden curriculum of the sessions is the learning of an alternative pedagogy. If, as I have argued, this is the significant but unspoken purpose, then the question arises as to the success of this 'lesson' (or 'learning situation', as the tutors called it). Accordingly, we might ask whether the tutors as teachers were successful in effecting student teacher learning of fundamental principles of 'good' teaching, and to what extent the student teachers 'reproduced' the tutors' pedagogical perspective? It is to such questions we now turn.

For the tutors, opportunities for monitoring their own teaching effectiveness and that of the student teachers' learning came in the third micro-teaching session of the induction course, when the exercise of teaching a four-minute lesson was repeated. The majority of student teachers in Paul Brown's and Gerald Lewis's groups had apparently learnt the lessons of the previous micro-teaching sessions at least to some degree, since there was much evidence of conscious intention to meet the criteria set out by the tutors. Gill and Joyce, for example, were beginning to redefine their pedagogical perspectives.

Gill

Gill takes several minutes setting up the OHP. She has a large drawing of a buttercup on the transparency, with all the parts of the flower clearly labelled. Gill places strips of paper over the labels to hide them. After giving everyone a real buttercup, Gill starts her lesson by telling us that today we are going to look at the parts of a buttercup. The lesson proceeds with Gill taking us through the various buttercup parts. She asks the group questions about the parts, e.g. "does anyone know what the stamen is?" As we work through, so the labels on the OHP are revealed, at the same time Gill asks us to pull off various bits of the buttercup so that the inside parts can be revealed. It is a factual presentation, but she does get 'pupils' actively involved by naming buttercup parts and examining real buttercups. Gill does not use notes and apparently 'knows her stuff'. Towards the end of her lesson she gives a sort of test covering up some of the labels, she points to various parts of the flower and asks, "can anyone remember the name of this bit?"

Before replaying the video for discussion, Gerald Lewis asks Gill what she was intending to improve in her lesson. Gill replies that she was aiming to get audience participation. Gerald Lewis nods in agreement. The video of the lesson is then played through.

GL Right Gill, it's important, more important, that you consider your own performance. Any comments?

Gill I wanted to get more pupil participation, rather than just talk. Get them involved more.

GL Successful?

Gill They seemed to have learned the parts. I tried to go in a circle introducing the topic, going through, then assessing it at the end.

GL: Yes. Good. But if you had to do it yet again, would you do anything different? Would you modify anything?

Gill: (pause) Don't know really....

GL: This is the sixty-four thousand dollar question really, and we'll keep asking you [the students], as it's the only way to improve. Just like with work from children, you might think you've got some fantastic work from children, until their class teacher says she could get twice as good work from them. So you must keep asking what you could do to improve. (....) You had a tendency to ask, 'does anyone know....?' type questions. Now, what are the repercussions of this?

Cliff: Shouting out.

GL: Yes, and the same people answering. Some don't answer, either because they don't know or are too shy. So particularise, individualise questions. [To the group] Did you learn anything?

Penny: The different parts of a flower.

GL: (....) What about extra visual reinforcement - listing the parts on the board? But I liked the variety.. You were relaxed, had a nice style, the pupils were involved and you had ongoing feedback. It was quite a nice lesson, but there are still little things to be thinking about because, as I've said before, the essence of teaching is that you learn something. Now....have I got the courage of my convictions? Tom, what's the second planet out from the sun?

Joyce

Joyce gives everyone a piece of string and says that we are going to look at knots - particularly the reef knot. Joyce sits down at the desk in front of the class. She has notes to which she occasionally refers but, on the whole, she seems to have 'learned her lines'. She talks generally about knots, interspersing the 'talk' with some 'who's heard of ?' and 'does anyone know ?' questions. This is quite short, taking little more than one minute. Then she says, "now I'm going to teach you how to do a reef knot. I'll show you first, so put your string down, and then you can do it". Joyce ties the knot, shows it to everyone, does it again, then again incorrectly and shows it to everyone. Then she tells everyone to have a go themselves. There is talk and laughter and Joyce moves around 'helping' individuals. Once everyone has done it, she goes back to her seat and gives a sort of test: name some uses of the reef knot, what are its properties? Several students are forthcoming with answers.

GL Joyce, what did you think?

Joyce (pause) Better than last time. I used the class more. I wanted to introduce it first, so I told them to put the string down so they wouldn't play with it and would listen.

GL Yes, classic dilemma about giving things out. Were you successful, do you think?

Joyce (hesitantly) Yes. Only a few didn't know how to do a reef knot, but yes.

GL Could you have been more efficiently successful?

Joyce Could have missed out the introduction.

GL [to group] Right, there's a gun pointed at you, tell me one improvement Joyce might make - Steve.

Steve Could show us some actual uses of the knot.

GL Pat?

Pat Could use a bigger piece of string, as we couldn't really see

GL Yes, that's a good point, it was a bit small

Joyce I was going to I tried it with a piece of rope, but it wasn't flexible enough

GL Yvonne?

Yvonne It didn't flow

GL Yes, once you throw the learning over to them, there is a danger of you feeling redundant - it's frustrating when you have gaps where nothing's happening () You were sitting a great deal It didn't matter in this situation, quite an intimate group situation, but it does, when anyone sits, tend to ring warning bells Basically, never teach from the desk in normal classroom situations - stand up It gives you a more commanding position, you look more active, you can monitor what's going on, it's an advantage You had good participation and a pleasant style, but your demonstration could be bigger and better 26

The most striking thing about the micro-lessons of this second session was the change of focus from teacher talk to pupil talk and pupil activity Both Gill and Joyce said that their intention was to use the class more, and to get 'audience participation' (a term frequently used by tutors and students) To this end, they not only used question and answer strategies, but also got the 'pupils' to do things - in these cases pulling buttercups apart or tying a knot In the first session, both Gill and Joyce, like most of the others, gave straight talks, expecting pupils to adopt an entirely passive learning-by-listening role In the second session, they were explicitly beginning to think about their

lessons in terms of pupil activity as well as teacher activity. In fact, nearly every student made attempts to get some pupil participation, if only by posing simple questions.

Questioning was the most basic strategy student teachers adopted as they tried to modify their pedagogy in the direction set out by the tutors. As a strategy, it was used in a variety of ways. Primarily it was used to get 'audience participation', and as a means of obtaining feedback from the 'pupils'. It was also used as an explicit means of assessing pupils' learning, and, by a small minority of students, as the key teaching/learning strategy. For some students, the use of questioning as a strategy significantly modified, even transformed, their pedagogy, for others, despite their use of questioning, their pedagogical perspective changed little.

As we have seen, Gill and Joyce used questioning in very similar ways - along with the 'activities' - first to encourage 'pupil' participation through the use of simple 'do you know?' questions, and secondly as a means of assessing the pupils' learning. Throughout the previous micro-teaching session, the tutors had emphasised a definition of teaching as measurable only in terms of learning. To this end, the tutors stressed the importance of assessing learning outcomes as a means of monitoring one's own teaching. Both Joyce and Gill attempted to measure their pupils' learning by instituting a brief test at the end of the four-minute lesson. A rapid memory-testing question-and-answer session was a formal, traditional, yet workable means of assessment at the end of such a lesson. Gill and Joyce were exceptional in

instituting such formal assessment of learning Most of the students did not attempt to monitor their own teaching quite so vigorously Gill and Joyce had responded to the hidden curriculum of the previous session and consequently moved much closer to the tutors' pedagogical perspective

The use of questioning by Gill and Joyce in their micro-lessons may be contrasted with the lessons of Angie and Alice

Angie

Standing near to the OHP, Angie begins "Today we are going to look at three characteristics of wool Does anyone know how many breeds of sheep there are in Great Britain?" Giving the group no time to answer, Angie plunges into a hurried factual talk, four minutes long, about the three properties of wool In the course of the talk, there are two or three 'can anyone guess the meaning of , ' type questions Standing still, she refers to her notes from time to time and comes over in rather a monotonous tone Angie finishes by summing up the main points

Angie only used questioning for its most basic purpose, namely that of injecting an element of participation into what was still basically a talk The lesson for the third micro-teaching session differed very little from that of the previous session It was the same content - wool - and remained firmly teacher- and knowledge-centred The insertion of questions at the start of the lesson served to establish attention and draw on pupils' own knowledge to provide some pupil activity However, although Angie attempted to modify her pedagogy towards that defined as appropriate by the tutors, her pedagogical perspective had not fundamentally altered This was certainly not the case with Alice

Alice

Alice begins by saying, "Today we are going to listen to some music, and think of things we can focus our attention on in the music. But first a picture. This is a picture of Stravinsky. What things could we focus our attention on looking at this picture?" Alice has a large portrait poster of Stravinsky pinned on the blackboard. Different students suggest 'colour', 'shape' and 'characterisation', all of which Alice writes on the board. She now asks the group to equate these with music, "what could we look for in listening to a piece of music?" Alice puts the contributions - 'tone', 'melody', 'beat' - on the board. She then says she will play a short piece of music, "but I want people to focus on different things". Alice then asks different students to concentrate on 'tone', 'rhythm', and so on. The music is played. When the music finishes, Alice asks the students what they noticed about the thing (tone, beat) on which they were asked to concentrate. Tom says what he felt about the melody and then there is a very long pause from Alice.

[When the video of this lesson was being played through, Paul Brown asked Alice if she felt 'difficult' in this pause. Alice said 'I did. I'd got my own ideas but I wasn't prepared for getting different ones from the audience. I didn't know how to deal with them ']

In response to Gill's answer about rhythm, it is evident that again Alice is not expecting such an answer. "Listen, again and try and note the rhythm". She plays the music again and, after listening to it, Tom says he doesn't really know what he is supposed to be looking for. Several of the others agree and Alice is asked to pick out the rhythm for them. Playing the music through yet again, Alice claps out

the rhythm and gets the group to do the same
 Alice now seems at rather a loss as to what to
 do next She says, "now for a contrast I'll
 play a rhythmless piece" She does so, but then
 aborts the lesson, proclaiming, "it all went
 haywire"

When Paul Brown asked Alice immediately after her micro-
 lesson what it was she was trying to improve, she said that
 last time she just stood there and lectured, this time she
 wanted to get the group more involved Paul Brown replied

you achieved the difference you were trying
 to you might think that having to abandon
 the lesson meant that it wasn't effective,
 but that's not so, because you were effective
 in doing what you wanted 27

Alice's micro-lesson stands in marked contrast to most
 of the others in this third session in terms of its pedagogy,
 in particular the use of questioning and in terms of the
 difficulties faced in putting an alternative definition of
 pedagogy into practice Alice's lesson was oriented around
 a teaching strategy of questioning which served to focus it
 on the pupils' contributions She used questions to elicit
 responses from the group, and only when specifically asked
 did she actually give them 'knowledge' In this way, Alice's
 questioning technique was intended to make the pupils do the
 work, and by asking them to listen for specific things in
 the music she kept the group active for most of the lesson
 Alice's lesson, especially regarding the use of questions, was
 in many ways similar to Yvette's first four-minute lesson
 (see p 99) Both had a high level of pupil activity centred
 on the generation of pupil knowledge, rather than the
 inculcation of teacher knowledge Moreover, both experienced

some difficulty in coping with the unanticipated consequences of their questioning strategy. As in Yvette's lesson, the pupils did not respond to questions as expected. Answers were not so much 'wrong' as not those anticipated. This threw Alice off balance - she did not know how to deal with the unexpected pupil contributions - and eventually, feeling she had lost the direction of the lesson, she abandoned it.

Alice and Yvette, the only two students whom I witnessed utilising questioning as their key teaching strategy, may in fact have experienced the effects of a basic contradiction in their pedagogical perspective. In both cases the difficulties experienced in dealing with the pupils' unanticipated responses appeared to stem in part from an underlying assumption that there was in some sense a 'right' answer. Had the 'pupils' responded within the framework and definitions used by each of the student teachers in planning their lessons, it is probable things would have run smoothly. The contradiction stems from the relative value placed respectively on the pupils' and the teacher's knowledge. Although the teaching strategy adopted by Alice and Yvette implicitly valued pupils' own personal knowledge, unless this matched the teacher's definitions of knowledge, it was devalued and attempts were made to establish the teacher's definition as valid. Both Alice and Yvette experienced some difficulties in achieving this. Furthermore, although Alice and Yvette made no explicit attempts to measure the learning outcomes of their micro-lessons, one can surmise this would be in terms of the extent to which the pupils had internalised the teacher definitions. It appears that even a significant

modification of pedagogical perspective retains the fundamental emphasis on learning as the reproduction of the teacher's knowledge

Effective learning as the measure of teaching success was, as we have seen, along with pupil participation, an essential aspect of the tutors' pedagogical perspective. This was emphasised throughout the micro-teaching sessions. In discussing each videoed micro-lesson, the first question posed by the tutor to the student teacher group was nearly always, 'what did you learn?' Not all lessons were 'successful' in these terms. Pattie, like Joyce, decided to attempt to teach the group how to tie a knot - this time a 'bow-line' knot - for her micro-lesson. However, despite practical demonstrations and 'hands-on' practice with string, a significant number of the group were unable to tie the knot at the end of the four-minute lesson. This provoked some interesting comments from Gerald Lewis on teaching and learning.

- Pattie I think I overestimated their ability
 GL () but the proof of the pudding is whether they can do it. Tendency of course, when they don't learn, to think 'stupid lot', BUT - and this is quite a numbing thought [pause] and quite harsh [dramatic pause] - when teaching is not successful, it is always the teacher's fault. Now, do you agree? Come back at me.
 Sue No, you can get some kids who could, but won't do it.
 GL But then it's the teacher's fault for not motivating them.

Simon In P E , you can try and teach some
 games, but if they haven't the basic
 skills

GL Then you shouldn't expect it, you can
 only be realistic The point I'm trying
 to make is that I can refute any argument
 you put forward of course, if you really
 push me I will admit there are some
 circumstances 28

Again, Gerald Lewis impressed upon the students a particular teacher perspective Teaching is about learning outcomes and this is held to be the only measure of the success of a lesson It follows that if the pupils fail to learn then the teaching - and thus the teacher - has not been successful The implication is that the teacher must take total responsibility for pupils' learning, or more precisely, their failure to learn Even conceding that this is not an absolute rule Gerald Lewis was emphatic in elaborating a very specific pedagogical perspective But at this point we might ask whether these criteria of successful teaching apply equally to the tutors in their attempts to 'teach' the student teachers this pedagogical perspective How does the tutor react when the student teacher has apparently 'failed' to learn? Penny was the last member of Gerald Lewis's group to do her second micro-lesson, and by the time her turn came, it was late in the afternoon and everyone was feeling tired

Penny

Having set up the OHP and pinned up some posters illustrating various rock types, Penny begins by telling us that today she is going to talk about different types of rocks. Penny keeps her hands in the pockets of her trousers (last time she held a ruler), and, also as last time, the contrast between her animation and liveliness when discussing the lessons of other students, and the bored, rather monotonous voice she now uses, is striking. She gives a very casual appearance, moving about while talking, but all the time with hands in pockets. She gives a very factual presentation, interspersed at the beginning with some 'does anyone know?' questions for example "does anyone know what 'igneous' means?" However, it is a talk with lots of technical terms, although she says that "you needn't worry about them". She also has a number of lists on the OHP, which she reads out - not to the group, but to the screen. When she has completed her talk on igneous rocks (which lasts a good five minutes), there is a pause and Steve asks, "have you finished?" Gerald Lewis says "I suggest you do finish there", even though it is obvious that she is quite prepared to go on to the other kinds of rocks detailed on her overhead transparency. She retorts, "what about all the rest, what about all the hard work I did?" Penny does, however, concur and ends by asking, "has anyone got any questions?" and 'prays' symbolically that they have not. No-one has. As it is late in the afternoon, only a few students are left to discuss Penny's video, but the criticism is spontaneous from those remaining, and Penny is defensive.

GL Would I be unfair to say that you all switched off, in that it is the end of the day, last lesson?

Everybody nods and says yes

GL You rather bombarded us with information

Penny I know it so well, you see, that I suppose
 I assumed they'd understand I thought when
 I was doing it that it was difficult, but I
 thought, 'Oh, they'll understand'' ()
 And I was determined not to make the same
 mistake, but I did I like talking about
 rocks'' [laughter from group]

GL Well, it is a good sign if you get involved
 in your material - that's good - but you must
 think about your audience

The video is replayed and, as it unfolds, several of
 the group suggest sections of her lesson which could
 have been omitted, but Penny is rapidly becoming
 depressed

GL Don't be too disheartened, this is a learning
 situation

Penny I'm completely disheartened now' [laughs]

Penny is ribbed by the group for having her hands in
 her pockets, and Gerald Lewis tells her never to teach
 with hands in pockets, 'it just looks sloppy' By
 this time it is clear to Penny that her lesson has not
 been a success 29

Penny's lesson was in fact almost exactly like her
 first She had a huge amount of material, far too much for
 four minutes She provided a factual presentation oriented
 around the teacher transmitting information to the pupils
 with a few 'do you know' type questions In this second
 lesson Penny knew her material more thoroughly, and was not
 lost for words at any point There was, however, no evidence
 that she had attempted to re-orient her lesson in terms of
 the pedagogy set out by the tutors in the previous session
 Penny's pedagogy was still teacher-centred, involving the

transmission of information from the teacher who possesses the information to the pupils who do not. As she herself said, having informed the pupils, she assumed they understood. In addition, her only attempt at feedback - the 'has anyone got any questions?' at the end - placed the onus on the pupils to assess their own learning.

Throughout the discussion of Penny's lesson, Gerald Lewis was concerned not to be overly critical, but in contrast to other students, Penny was regarded as not having made significant attempts to modify her pedagogical perspective in the 'appropriate' direction. As Gerald Lewis said to me after the session, Penny had disappointed him because 'she doesn't seem to have learned from the last session or, if she took it in mentally, she hasn't been able to put it into practice'. This is interesting in the light of the comments Gerald Lewis made earlier that afternoon regarding responsibility for learning outcomes. Implicitly Gerald Lewis did not accept responsibility for Penny's failure to learn. It was Penny who had failed to learn, not Gerald Lewis who had failed to teach effectively. Of course, it has long been noted that there is often a considerable difference between what people say and what they do. Research has shown that teachers hold a variety of perspectives which vary according to social contexts, especially between 'educationist' and 'teacher' contexts (Keddie, 1971). In the more idealistically and theoretically oriented 'educationist' context, where talk is about the principles of teaching, Gerald Lewis was able to maintain that learning or failure to learn on the part of pupils is always the responsibility of the teacher. However,

in the pragmatically oriented 'teacher' context, assumptions held as 'educationist' are adjusted or submerged to be reconciled with the practicalities of the situation. Moreover, in this latter context, self-interests (Pollard, 1985a) assume greater importance. Teacher educators are as likely as teachers in schools to hold a variety of context specific perspectives which apparently contradict one another. Nonetheless, at least in relation to pedagogy, it is the perspective made explicit in the educationist context which is defined as the one student teachers should adopt.

The messages embodied in the hidden curriculum of the micro-teaching sessions were picked up by nearly all the student teachers and as a consequence they began to make efforts to modify their pedagogical perspective in the appropriate direction. Some students learned this 'lesson' more thoroughly than others, a minority were regarded as having 'failed' to learn. If the measure of teaching success from the tutor's viewpoint was reproduction of the tutors' pedagogical perspective, then most student teachers at least started this learning process. Shared understandings of pedagogy were emerging from the teacher socialisation process, even at this early stage of the course.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that student teachers began their professional education year with a set of taken-for-granted assumptions and understandings about teachers and teaching. Having spent fifteen years as a pupil and student, classrooms were in a sense familiar places, and teachers familiar figures. When the time came to take their place on the other side of the desk, that is, to adopt the teacher role, most student teachers drew on their commonsense knowledge of teaching.³⁰ Micro-teaching, teaching in 'ideal' but artificial conditions right at the start of the professional studies course, gave an opportunity to observe the assumptions and understandings of pedagogy in action. We have seen that most of the student teachers at this point in their course had what many writers would label a traditional, didactic and teacher-oriented pedagogical perspective.

In describing and analysing the micro-teaching sessions, I have focused on a key episode in the establishment of a teacher perspective among student teachers. Although the explicit purpose of the micro-teaching sessions was the development of specific skills involved in the teaching process, I have argued that the underlying purpose – the hidden curriculum – was to impress upon the students an alternative pedagogical perspective. Students' definitions and understandings about what teaching involves and how one accomplishes it, at this point in the course, simply did not match up with the tutors' definitions and understandings. As a 'lesson', the objective of the micro-

teaching sessions was that the students learn a new definition of teaching and modify their pedagogy accordingly. The micro-teaching sessions must therefore be viewed in terms of negotiations. Student teachers, as we have seen, were actively engaged in constructing a teacher perspective, but within a context founded on power differentials. The student teachers and professional studies tutors taking part in the micro-teaching sessions were engaged in a process of definition, negotiation and redefinition for a shared understanding of pedagogy.

This analysis of the development of pedagogical perspectives reveals the process of professional socialisation as one in which tutors are concerned to impose their own definitions and perspectives against alternative student perspectives. This raises the question as to whether competence and progress on teacher education courses involves the successful internalisation of the tutors' perspectives. In the college context of the teacher education course, professional studies tutors are inevitably key figures of power as significant others. When students move into the school context in periods of school experience, pupils and school staff emerge as key figures. It is to this context that we turn in the next chapter.

Notes

- 1 This chapter is based on data relating to students taking the professional studies course in 1982/3. All data reported in other chapters relates to the 1981/2 group of students. This is because the induction programme for the professional studies courses actually takes place at the end of a college academic year and I had missed the induction for the 1981/2 students. Much of the data is also used in Stowell (1985).
- 2 Micro-teaching involves scaled down teaching encounters, in which the student teaches a small group of (usually) peers for five to ten minutes. The 'lesson' is normally videoed for review by student(s) and tutor.
- 3 From Professional Studies in Education Induction Course Booklet, Haydon Park College.
- 4 Extract from fieldnotes.
- 5 There is a large literature on the teacher's role which utilises analogies derived from drama, e.g. Musgrove and Taylor (1969), particularly relating to Goffman's dramaturgical model of social life (Goffman, 1959). In likening the micro-lessons to dramatic performance, I am also making use of an analogy recognised and utilised by both students and tutors in the present study. It is thus an analogy which is grounded in the data and represents a tool for describing and understanding the micro-lessons. I would argue that it has serious limitations for the analysis, or even description of 'real' teaching.
- 6 A good example of the pervasiveness of the drama analogy among the students. Damon actually uses an actor's terminology.
- 7 This is in fact a fairly common way of introducing lesson topics among established teachers, but with one important difference: the 'I' is replaced by 'we', for example 'Today we are going to talk about...'. The 'we' denotes an intention to involve pupils. For examples see transcripts of lessons in some of the school ethnographies, e.g. Ball (1981).
- 8 Extract from fieldnotes.
- 9 Some students who did not use a set of notes, in fact used their OHP transparency or large-scale diagram as a substitute for notes.
- 10 Extract from fieldnotes.

- 11 Geraldine's lesson is also one of the few that use questions
- 12 There is a large literature on questioning derived from research using structured observation schedules. The most well-known is Flanders (1970) but for a good overview see Delamont (1983)
- 13 This fits in with the analysis of the organisation of talk in classrooms by Sinclair and Coulthard (1974) which shows that the structure of discourse in classrooms regularly follows a three move exchange pattern of initiation, response, feedback (question, answer, evaluation)
- 14 Yvette in fact missed the second of the micro-teaching sessions, so it seems reasonable to regard the lesson she did in the third session as her first attempt
- 15 The terminology used in the literature is in fact rather confusing. Esland (1977), for example, uses the terms 'pedagogical perspectives', 'pedagogical ideologies' and 'pedagogical paradigms' virtually interchangeably. Hammersley (1977) talks of 'teacher perspectives' and it is difficult to determine how these differ from Esland's pedagogies. Meighan (1981) uses the term 'ideologies of education' and encompasses Hammersley's work in a review under this title. There is therefore no consistent use of terms. I have tried to differentiate between pedagogy, teacher perspectives and ideology of education. 'Pedagogy' I take to be an aspect of teacher perspective, the latter thus includes, but is more than a pedagogical perspective. Both are shaped, in part, by ideologies of education. However, the perspectives held by any teacher or group of teachers may contradict their ideology. The relationship between the three is thus extremely complex.
- 16 We should remember Keddie's (1971) important distinction between educationist and teacher contexts, and her evidence that in the teacher context teachers organised their activities around values which as educationists they might have denied. It is entirely conceivable, and indeed probable, that this applies equally to student teachers.
- 17 Rationale given in the Course Booklet
- 18 It is important to note that tutors may not share the same teacher perspective, and that the teacher perspectives of college tutors are likely to differ considerably from those of the teachers in schools whom the students will encounter on school experience.

- 19 It should be clear that I am not so much interested in the perspectives 'actually' held by the tutors as the perspectives implied and explicated by the tutors in the micro-teaching sessions I am thus concerned here with the 'educationist' as opposed to the 'teacher' context
- 20 This is not an exact transcript of what was said, it is rather 'reconstructed' from my notes when writing them up at the end of the day
- 21 Extract from fieldnotes
- 22 Ibid
- 23 Ibid
- 24 It should, however, be emphasised that in talking of a student teacher perspective and a tutor teacher perspective in this way, I am not proposing a simple dichotomous distinction and the two certainly should not be conceptualised as opposites I am merely proposing two empirically-grounded types based on an analysis of a number of dimensions - other types are empirically possible, and indeed, it might be theoretically possible to construct numerous types It should also be clear that while some tutors and students fit closely to the type, others do not
- 25 Although the specific skills of teachers are vaguely defined 'magic ingredient', in terms of learning
- 26 Extract from fieldnotes
- 27 Ibid
- 28 Ibid
- 29 Ibid
- 30 It is the commonsense knowledge of teaching derived from classroom experience that Denscombe (1982 and 1985) terms the 'hidden pedagogy'

CHAPTER 4

"REAL KIDS IN REAL CLASSROOMS"

Sara I didn't realise that it would be so difficult

Abbie I loved every minute of it, yes - oh, it was
fantastic

Fay it was dreadful actually, it was appalling

Mike I felt I could do justice to myself as a
teacher and, more importantly to the kids

These remarks come from interviews with student teachers after their first block of school experience, and they clearly represent very different subjective experiences of a period of four weeks in the professional studies year of the teacher education course. This chapter is concerned with those four weeks the first experience of 'real kids in real classrooms'. While the previous chapter introduced student teachers and their tutors negotiating the process of professional socialisation within the college context, the next three chapters focus upon student teachers' subjective concerns and experiences both in the period leading up to and through school experience. We continue to view professional socialisation as a process involving the construction of a teacher perspective within contexts which are both enabling and constraining. However, the social context is now the school and the focus is the different perceptions, expectations and concerns relating to student teachers' establishment of a competent teacher identity.

Pollard (1985a) has argued that the primary interest-at-hand for teachers and pupils is the maintenance of self-image. This is an immediate concern which critically influences the ways in which both perceive classroom situations and make decisions about action. It is a crucial concern shaping teacher and pupil perspectives. For student teachers, the concern is both similar and different. Maintenance of self-image, that is, defence of one's personal identity as a particular kind of person, is important, but this is fundamentally mediated by the concern to establish a teacher identity. Establishing and maintaining a social identity and a self image as a competent teacher are at the heart of the process of teacher socialisation for the student teacher. This is a central theme in the analysis of the process of becoming a teacher presented in this study.

The first school experience

There is a consensus within the literature on teacher education that the first school experience or teaching encounter is a critical period involving 'reality shock' (Peterson, 1964, Whiteside et al , 1969), 'initiation by ordeal' (Grace, 1978) or 'baptism by fire' (Cole, 1984). In each of these analyses the tendency has been to regard all student teachers as experiencing essentially similar critical inductions into the profession.

This is a particular problem with Lacey's (1977) case study of the process of professional socialisation within the context of an innovative P G C E course at Sussex University. As discussed more fully in Chapter 1, Lacey uses a developmental

scheme involving four stages: honeymoon period, the search for material and ways of teaching, the crisis, and learning to get by, to describe some of the common experiences of student teachers in becoming a teacher. Variations in experience, with the exception of 'failure' are not examined. Furthermore, Lacey's study is of student teachers who spent part of every week throughout their one year course on school experience. This chapter seeks to modify and expand Lacey's analysis, first by considering the variations as well as the similarities in student teachers' initial classroom encounters, and secondly by focusing on the more usual situation of student teachers undertaking a block of school experience. In so doing, I explicitly draw upon the insights generated by research on status transition, self-image and commitment in other contexts, most notably in primary school teaching, (cf Nias, 1984, 1985) and with reference to pupils changing schools, (cf Measor and Woods, 1984, Beynon, 1985). This chapter is therefore concerned with the subjective career of the student teacher at a time when attempts to establish a social and personal teacher identity are most 'at risk'.

The first school experience for student teachers at Haydon Park College, lasted four weeks in the middle of the autumn term immediately following an initial five-week block of college based professional studies. For student teachers intending to become subject specialists in secondary schools, this first school experience took place in a middle school (or with the older classes in a junior school). The student was attached to one or two classes for most of the

time, 'thereby getting to know a group of pupils well, observing and contributing to their educational development over four weeks' (Haydon Park College Professional Studies booklet) Students made three preliminary visits before the period of school experience in order to familiarise themselves with the school, and to discuss and plan schemes of work with the teacher(s) alongside whom they would be working College work immediately preceding the school experience period was centred upon preparation in terms of producing work schemes, lesson plans and materials

Anticipatory socialisation nerves and preparation

The first school experience was regarded by students and tutors alike as a highly significant event, a 'critical phase', in their careers as teachers Not surprisingly, it was characterised by a high level of anxiety Like the pupils studied by Measor and Woods (1984) on transfer from middle to secondary school, the students' identities were 'at risk' The first school experience represents a crucial stage in the status passage from student to teacher, a status towards which the student teachers had been consciously working for at least the past two years The student teachers therefore viewed the prospect of school experience with both anxiety and enthusiasm Many told me that they were 'really looking forward to it' and 'couldn't wait' to get started. But at the same time, they had acute anxieties about their ability to measure up to the demands of the school situation and readily confessed to nerves:

Sara I was very, very nervous, very apprehensive,
 found it difficult to sleep beforehand
 Julia [I was] really panicky
 Jackie [I was] scared' I suffered the whole summer
 holiday thinking about it
 Mike [I was] petrified
 Jill [I was] absolutely terrified
 Rachel I felt terrible ¹

As one student put it 'we're all nervous wrecks''

I spent the Friday before the start of the first school experience with the students in college School experience was then just over forty-eight hours away From the tutors' point of view, this was the last chance to check the students' preparation of schemes of work and lesson plans, to reassure them and generally to be available for help and advice For both the tutors who spent until well into late afternoon working with individual students, and for the students themselves, it proved to be a tense and hardworking day

Paul Brown began the morning session by providing both encouragement and a statement of what was expected of the students over the following four weeks He suggested that all of them should be at the stage of planning lessons, having previously completed schemes of work He referred students to the course objectives in the course handbook, and said they would be expected to demonstrate they were achieving these to some extent

We have high expectations of you, but we don't expect you to be brilliant, we don't expect you to be great at questioning or classroom management, but we do expect you to be better at it than you would have been five weeks ago ²

Paul Brown went on to emphasise that school experience was a learning experience and that his role was to help and advise. He said he intended to visit someone on Tuesday [groans from the students] and thus might see someone take a class they had not met before - 'but remember, I'm there to help and advise you'. After giving some general advice on keeping pupil records, Paul Brown said the rest of the day was to be regarded as a workshop session. All students were to see him or Ben Wright at some stage in the day so that schemes of work and lesson plans could be checked through. The students were therefore free to continue with their preparation where and when they liked.

Most students worked in the classroom for much of the day, while Paul Brown saw them individually in his adjoining office. I 'hung around', chatting to students over coffee and work, 'eavesdropping' and looking through some of their schemes of work and lesson plans. My fieldnotes record a 'tense, almost tangible atmosphere of contained panic and frenzied activity'. The students who stayed in the classroom quickly settled into diligent and painstaking work on individual lesson plans, a continuation of hours of work in their own time. Mike, for example, as was evident from his school experience file, had already put hours of work into preparation and confidently showed off his extremely neat and detailed lesson plans to anyone on request. Despite the amount of work he had already done, he still felt there was considerably more to do. Later that day I met him rushing around the library, obviously still working, and I said, 'still at it?', to which he replied, 'I'll be at it

all weekend, I'll never finish'' All the schemes of work and lesson plans which I saw were meticulously set out in great detail, and often included plans for ambitious projects Fay, for example, planned twelve Humanities lessons during which a magazine would be produced after time spent analysing the press, visiting a newspaper office and watching sports matches

Not all students however, found it easy to settle into their work It was evident that detailed preparation was just one of the ways in which they dealt with the anxiety provoked by the imminence of the following week Stevie seemed to spend the whole day wandering about the college finding means of putting off her work Moreover, she had definite plans for dealing with the inevitable anxieties of the weekend.

Over coffee in the student coffee bar, Stevie tells me that she has done five work schemes and has two left to do, and all her lesson plans

Stevie but I can't get on with it My brain hurts, and I find it impossible to work in college

Becky joins us and she and Stevie discuss their plans for that evening

Stevie I'm going out tonight, tomorrow night and Sunday night - there's no point in going to bed early because you won't sleep, and there's no way I'm going to stay in and worry on Sunday night It's best to work and then go out late and enjoy yourself

Eventually I say I am going to wander back to the classroom and Stevie says she is going to come too

We walk across to the door, but Stevie sees someone she knows and excuses herself to go and chat to them 3

Like Stevie, Becky had not completed any lesson plans at all by Friday morning, moreover, she claimed she had forgotten how to set them out. Much to my embarrassment, after consulting some other students as to what they had done for lesson plans, she turned the question to me. I had to admit I did not do formal lesson plans in the way she was required to do and referred her to Mike who was, in practical terms, an expert. Becky later told me that even when she had completed the lesson plans for the following week, she still felt she had not done enough preparation - 'I spent four hours last night just sticking pictures onto card and covering them with clear film - there's loads more to do, but time's running out'. Looking back on the school experience Becky acknowledged that she had in fact prepared far too much, since she only got about half-way through her schemes of work.

Exhaustive and extensive preparation was one way in which students coped with feelings of inadequacy. Lacey recognised this in his study when he argued that 'the student teacher attempts to compensate for his lack of control and lack of ability to improvise in the classroom by elaborate preparation' (1977, p 80). However, Lacey regarded this as something characteristic of student teachers once they had experienced their own inadequacies in the classroom, and he thus failed to acknowledge that student teachers may attempt to compensate for anticipated

inadequacies in the same way Furthermore, Lacey did not fully explain why student teachers engage in such elaborate and time-consuming preparation

For the student teachers at Haydon Park College, preparation in terms of detailed schemes of work for different classes of children and lesson plans for each lesson were made a requirement by professional tutors Moreover, extensive preparation was endorsed by tutors as an essential part of becoming a teacher and a necessary key to survival Much of the seminar programme preceding the first block of school experience was about constructing written lesson plans and schemes of work, as was a great deal of the work in subject studies It was therefore not surprising that many of the students spent a considerable number of hours - often working late into the night - on preparing teaching materials and writing out lesson plans. In fact, it came as something of a shock for some students to find that 'real' teachers did not always do this

Becky the thing that got me though, all the teachers, none of them do lesson plans, none of them do schemes of work - none of them'

Anticipatory socialisation potential critical incidents

Preparation could not however, compensate for all anticipated inadequacies Extreme apprehension about coping with the classroom situation - something the students perceived as an unknown - was common, as shown in the following comments

- Sara I wasn't really sure what I was letting myself in for at all I really didn't know what to expect, I couldn't imagine going into a classroom and suddenly it being me and everything centred on me
- Mike of standing up and teaching
- Jill Of being able to occupy the children and er and just some situations I thought might arise where the children were running wild or being naughty
- Jackie just standing there and knowing what to say

Such concerns were central to the students in the days before school experience began, they felt acutely that their professional and personal identities would be 'at risk'

Some students dealt with anxiety by doing exhaustive preparation or by taking steps - as Stevie intended - to 'block out all thoughts of Monday' They also took opportunities to share their anxieties with anyone who would listen Rachel was typical She spent over an hour of the Friday morning workshop carefully and diligently preparing some teaching material on a carbon stencil for reproduction To her utter dismay, on completing it she discovered she had not removed the protective plastic sheet from the stencil, rendering the previous hour's work completely useless The other students present laughed and offered sympathy, and Rachel had to resign herself to repeating the work This incident, however, broke Rachel's concentration and she encouraged conversation - as usual about schools, lessons, Monday and preparation

Rachel says she is terrified and not looking forward to Monday at all now. She says she is worried because the books one of her classes will be working on will not have arrived for the first week, so will be forced to do the banda again. Jack, Becky and I are then treated to Rachel's entertaining description of the terrible things in store for her on Monday.

Rachel: The teacher whose class I'm taking over is a horrible man, really horrible. He said he's going to sit in on my first lesson on Monday. I begged and begged him not to, but that just made him worse 'cause he then said that if he thought the lesson wasn't any good he would tell the class [mock horror].

Jack: Oh, he's just teasing you.

Rachel: Oh, no, he was serious. Besides, I know someone who did their school experience there last year and he tut-tutted all the way through their lessons'. And I've been told I'll have to take the whole school for hymn practice but I can't sing or conduct. I'm petrified. I'd give anything to be ill on Monday morning.

Becky: You hadn't better - I'm not going on my own.⁴

Sharing worries was one way in which students were able to substantiate and allay some of their more acute anxieties. Lacey (1977) identified this collectivising strategy as an attempt to legitimise problems, and this was very much the case for student teachers at Haydon Park College. A significant feature of this collectivising strategy, however, was the way in which it frequently made great play

of the dramatic content of what the student saw as potentially critical incidents

Sikes, Measor and Woods (1985) have shown how typical teacher careers are marked not only by critical phases, but also by critical incidents which either give the individual's career 'a beneficial boost, deal it a savage blow, or both at the same time' (p 20) Measor (1985) shows how such incidents are infused into the way teachers make sense retrospectively of their career development. Most of the students I studied, however, actually anticipated critical incidents which were likely to be crucial to their survival. In fact, the students expected that the first school experience would confront them with an infinite variety of critical incidents. These were seen as involving fundamental decisions regarding action and as potentially hazardous for career and identity. For example, Becky was particularly worried about the maths lessons she would be taking. For her first lesson she proposed to divide the pupils into two teams and ask questions about angles to each team, but

what if the questions are too difficult, what if no-one can answer them, or what if just one person answers all the questions? Paul [Brown] will say that it won't work anyway because I won't know them well enough but what else can I do? I'm just so worried about it all

I asked Becky what it was she felt worried about. She said it was a whole variety of things

I mean I sat in on a lesson last week and a girl said out loud, so's I could hear, wasn't my hair pretty - what do I say, do I tell her off or what?

I'm worried about my fourth year Maths because

I can't do the work myself I don't know,
 it's just the thought of going into a class
 and wondering if I can cope It'll be a relief
 in a way 'cos at least I'll know if I can do it ⁵

Becky expressed a number of anxieties which she regarded as potential triggers to critical incidents. All her rhetorical questions centred on her ability to cope with whatever occurred in the classroom whether the lesson would go as planned, whether the work would be appropriate for the pupils, when and how to discipline a pupil and so on. In anticipating such incidents, Becky was clear they would require instant decisions regarding action. It was her competence to do this which she questioned, and made her regard such incidents as potentially hazardous.

Denscombe (1985) has noted that the 'uncertainty of classroom events figures prominently in teachers' accounts of their work' (p 66). In anticipating critical incidents, student teachers in effect draw attention to a central aspect of classroom life: the uncertainty and unpredictable nature of pupils, events and situations - uncertainty which nonetheless demands immediate and effective reaction on the part of the teacher.

Anticipatory socialisation rumours and reputations

Anticipation of potential critical incidents could, as in Becky's comments, focus on quite specific instances and derive in the main from the student's own self-doubt. For others, as for example Rachel above, the rumours which accompanied a status transition provided a dramatic framework for anticipated critical incidents. Fear of one's lesson being 'sabotaged' was common - although the potential threat was more likely to be perceived as the pupils rather than teachers within the school.

Stevie I heard that one of the classes actually sabotaged a student teacher, sabotaged their lesson. They'd planned it and discussed it and intended to destroy her lesson by not paying attention and talking all the way through and they did it as well. I was really panicky.

For others, rumours about the school's reputation provided the context for anticipation of a more generalised critical phase.

Becky There was a lot of coloured children in the school and also, I don't know if it's true but one of the teachers said that 50 per cent of them came from one-parent families. The school used to be comprehensive but then when it turned middle the parents of the children didn't want their children to go to that school because it had acquired a bad name for itself. I was petrified the day before I went in and then I resigned myself to the fact when I got up about five o'clock in the morning to go in I didn't need to get up so early, but I did because I was so frightened and by the time I got into school I'd resigned myself to the fact that if they were going to kill me, the

kids, then that was it - I'd die'
[laugh]

Abbie Well, when I first heard I was going to St John's I was really scared because everyone said, 'Oh God, St John's' You know, 'terrible school, really bad', and I was thinking, 'Oh, my God' You know, it was really terrible

Frank before I went in I heard all sorts of weird stories about the school, about how bad I was gonna find it and how rough it was

In these examples, the adverse reputation of the school - often linked to the social deprivation of its catchment area and the social disadvantage of its pupils - was regarded as indicating a definite potential for critical incidents, and constituted a potent source of anxiety. It is difficult to explain exactly how schools acquire reputations, since they are not specific to student teachers but exist in the local community as well. It does seem that students use informal contacts with community members, with tutors, and with students who have already done school experience to enquire about the character of schools. This produces a very different kind of information to that derived from official sources. Negative and stereotypical evaluations are interpreted as indicative of potential difficulties for new student teachers. In identifying schools and pupils (and even teachers) stereotypically, and using dramatic language the anticipation of critical incidents have many of the qualities of myths. The significance of myths for periods of status transition has been given attention by other writers, most recently by Measor and Woods (1984) and

Beynon (1985) within the context of school transfer for pupils

Measor and Woods note that in the anthropological literature, myth and social change are often linked in 'liminal' (marginal) situations myths provide some indication of the rules and norms which will apply in the new situation, in addition, they may provide a kind of emotional release

myths act as a cultural blueprint, a social charter, for future behaviour, which contains both hints on norms and rules to observe and clues to what kind of identity will be most appropriate in the new circumstances in myths people mean to communicate certain feelings, ideas or relationships which they do not or cannot put into words

(Measor and Woods, 1983, p 63,
1984, p 19)

As a charter for future behaviour 'myths reflect the principles by which a culture interprets reality, organises conceptual values, communicates possibilities, and facilitates cultural membership' (Beynon, 1985, p 226) In short, myths provide a kind of anticipatory socialisation Potential critical incidents, rumours and fantasies dramatically recounted by students can be seen as serving very similar functions in a significantly different situation of status transition

Unlike school pupils transferring from middle or primary to secondary school, student teachers were not entering entirely new and unknown situations In one sense, fears about an inability to cope were anomalous because 'everyone knows', having spent thirteen years in schools already, what teachers do and what classrooms are like However, such expressed anxieties do clearly illustrate exactly what becoming a teacher involves As Lacey emphasises, teacher

socialisation involves developing a teacher perspective in which situations are both seen and interpreted in a new way. Although all the student teachers had 'practised' being a teacher via micro-teaching, and moreover, had sat in on the very classes they would be taking in their respective schools, they had not been in a 'real' classroom as a 'real' teacher - they only knew teachers and classrooms from the pupil and student perspective. Now they were faced with making the transition to a student teacher perspective, and this provoked considerable anxiety.

The significance of the dramatic recounting of potential critical incidents must be understood within this framework of perspectival and cultural knowledge. Dramatising from classroom folklore, and from school reputations and rumours may be regarded as a form of anticipatory socialisation. In a similar way to the pupil myths identified by Measor and Woods, the anticipation of critical incidents can be seen as serving several functions. First, the dramatic accounts provide information - often in a distorted and implicit fashion - of the demands and requirements of the classroom situation from the teacher perspective. These demands include maintaining control, knowing one's material, instantaneous decision-making and 'situational thinking' (Smith and Geoffrey, 1968), not losing face in front of pupils, teachers or tutors and simply surviving. Secondly, the accounts serve as a warning, again in a distorted and often exaggerated fashion, of the consequences if these demands - particularly for classroom control and competence -

are not met When Becky said, 'I resigned myself to the fact that if they were going to kill me I'd die', she draws attention in a dramatic way to the potential threat to her identity Thirdly, the relating in a dramatic form of anticipated critical incidents can also be regarded as a form of emotional release This legitimates, and, in the process, goes some way towards allaying, the acute feelings of personal and professional inadequacy and the consequent sense of being 'at risk' In this way, the anticipation of critical incidents has similar properties to the 'collectivising' strategies of Lacey's student teachers Sharing anxieties can serve to legitimise the displacement of blame 'failure', should it happen, may be attributable to the school, the teachers or the pupils rather than one's own inadequacies This is not to suggest that the recounting of potential critical incidents was a conscious strategy on the part of the student teachers, or that it had a rational and logical function It is, however, to draw attention to the importance of the unconscious and the emotional in socialisation - elements which are as likely as not to contain contradictions and anomalies

Anticipatory socialisation was therefore centred on the construction of a loosely structured but potent student teacher mythology which identified schools, teachers and pupils stereotypically and presented potential critical incidents dramatically In a situation of social change where identity and status were felt to be precarious, such myths helped ease the transition Once student teachers faced the reality of 'real kids in real classrooms', for most the

myths receded and the first days of school experience were generally uplifting and confidence building. For a minority of student teachers however, 'real kids in real classrooms' confronted them with a reality where their emerging teacher identity was truly 'at risk'. These two groups of student teachers will be considered in the next two sections.

School experience as 'honeymoon'

Acutely nervous before the start of school experience, many students quickly found that once they were in school and had taken some lessons, their confidence soared. These students proved to themselves that they 'could do it', and their expectations of disaster were not in the least fulfilled.

Julia after the first lesson, I didn't have
any trouble. I wasn't I wasn't worried
at all. Just the first lesson, and once
I'd taught that and knew what it was going
to be like, I just didn't think about the
rest. That was just it. It didn't worry
me at all.

Entering Rowlands Park Middle School, old nineteenth century buildings set in the middle of a working-class residential area of Victorian terraces, Becky appeared and came bounding over with a big grin, obviously pleased to see us. 'Hiya', she said eagerly to Paul Brown and myself, 'have you come to see me?' She seemed a little disappointed when we said we hadn't. I asked her how she was getting on. 'Fine, fine' she said enthusiastically, 'I'm really enjoying it, it's great'.⁶

Mike: I felt reasonably happy (after the first few days in school). I mean it got to the stage where I could go in there and be natural ... I felt I could do ... could do justice to myself as a teacher and probably more, do justice to the kids ... the fact that I could get things across. I wasn't sure I could do it before.

Paul Brown and I then went to Pippins School, a relatively new, modern school in the heart of a new private housing estate. We hoped Jane would give us a cup of coffee. It was just before morning break when we arrived and found Jane at work in the staffroom: 'Oh no, you haven't come to see me have you?' After the initial shock of our appearance, Jane made us coffee and when I asked how she was getting on she replied with emphasis 'It's great. I couldn't have hoped for a better school'.⁷

For students like Julia, Becky, Mike and Jane, school experience served to confirm their commitment to teaching and to provide a substantive basis to their emergent teacher identity. These students might be said to have entered Lacey's 'honeymoon period' of heightened awareness and euphoria. However, in contrast to Lacey's P.G.C.E. students, for the students I studied the 'honeymoon period' emerged not prior to feelings of inadequacy but out of those feelings. The reality of classroom teaching presented the possibility of survival without trauma. In marked contrast to the anxieties which preceded school experience, classroom experience quickly pushed some student teachers into subjective feelings of exhilaration. Anticipation of critical incidents brought on by self-doubt, student teacher rumours or school reputation proved unfounded, and the fears with

which school experience was anticipated were exchanged for those of a 'honeymoon period' Abbie and Frank provide two more examples which make explicit the anxiety provoked by school reputation and self-doubt and the contrasting positive enthusiasm for the reality of school experience

Abbie When I first heard I was going to St John's, I was really scared because everybody said () 'terrible school, really bad' () then we met Barbara (a teacher at St John's) and she was really nice She was saying 'Oh it's O K , don't listen to any of the stories and that ' I was going 'Oh yeah'' [sarcastically] and Robbie, the teacher I was with said 'Have you heard anything about the school?' and I said 'Oh yeah, they've told me how bad it is' and he said 'It's not true' And when I got in there, you know, I really enjoyed it I loved every minute of it - yes, oh, it was fantastic

Abbie confessed to feeling 'scared for weeks and weeks' and told me that the weekend immediately before school experience she 'went home to Wales, went out, had a good time and forgot all about it' Apprehension and self doubt returned on the Monday morning

but as soon as I started like the first lesson it was hockey and the teacher came up with me which you know, I think is worse, because she was observing me and you tend to think 'oh no, why can't I just get on with it on my own', but five or ten minutes, once I'd started, I found I'd forgotten about the teacher and I just got on with it - great'

For Abbie, neither her anxieties about the school, the pupils or her own ability to cope were confirmed and she quickly entered a honeymoon period. Frank, as a mature student in his forties, was anxious about how he would manage to cope in a school which had an adverse reputation. Like Abbie, on his own experience, he rejected the validity of this reputation.

Frank I was in St Mark's School, which is in Cratton. It's a lovely school and I really enjoyed it, but it's got a very bad reputation which made me anxious beforehand, but it doesn't live up to its reputation.

MS In what way?

Frank Umm, before I went I heard all sorts of weird stories about how bad I was gonna find it and how rough it was, but it's not as bad as they make out.

No student who spoke of entering a school with an adverse reputation was prepared to confirm that reputation. Although talk of 'bad', 'rough' and socially deprived pupils and catchment areas often provided a context for the anticipation of critical incidents, all the students who went into schools which they described as having negative reputations presented a dissenting view of the school and its pupils.

School experience as 'crisis'

It was not the case that all student anxieties in the pre-school experience period were unconfirmed when confronted with the reality of teaching. For some students, the start of school experience marked the beginning of a period of crisis. Lacey (1977) defined a 'crisis situation' as a

feeling of failure which 'can be momentary, during a lesson, or while marking exercise books, or it can be a general state of affairs with only moments of optimism and feelings of confidence' (p 183) It is certainly the case, as Lacey's study shows, that all student teachers (and, surely, all established teachers) experience momentary crises based on acute feelings of failure All the student teachers I studied experienced such feelings associated with lessons which had not worked or were simply 'bad lessons' (see Chapter 7) Such 'crises' were not, however, regarded as serious and did not undermine the student's emerging teacher identity

Some student teachers did experience more generalised crisis situations which were more than momentary and consequently regarded as more serious Such crisis situations were subjectively defined by students and centred on acute feelings of inadequacy and failure to cope in the classroom Modifying Lacey's conceptualisation somewhat, I reserve the term 'crisis situation' for this generalised state of affairs which could last from several days to the whole four weeks of the school experience, and exclude the more common and momentary feelings of 'failure' Moreover, whereas Lacey's analysis suggests that crises occur after the honeymoon period, the analysis presented here suggests crises can occur right at the start of school experience For a minority of student teachers the first school experience was confirmed experientially as a critical phase in which critical incidents relating to career and identity (Strauss, 1959) assumed particular significance For most, the period

of crisis was resolved by half-way through the block of four weeks school experience to emerge into a honeymoon period, or if not a honeymoon period characterised by euphoria, at least a feeling of ability to cope. For a significant minority of students however, the crisis period lasted the whole four weeks of school experience with only momentary feelings of confidence. For these students the stress of confronting the reality of schools and teaching precipitated a 'crisis situation' from the first day of school experience.

Sara had what she described as an 'awful' lesson at the end of her first day. The pupils were 'rowdy, slightly cheeky and didn't seem to take the lesson seriously' and by the end of the lesson Sara felt

absolutely drained. I got on the wrong bus and burst into tears on the way home. It was awful. I just found teaching practice a lot more difficult than I anticipated, a lot more tiring than I thought it would be, that it just did not come easy. I didn't think it would take so much of my time up, just to prepare things, to prepare a lesson or to go and get books for a lesson. In the first week I felt that was it. I thought I was inexperienced, well apart from the fact I was inexperienced, I just didn't think I had the ability to teach.

Jill felt she had problems with both classroom control and with lesson content. She told me she had put 'disaster' on the evaluation of her first lesson on the first day of school experience. It had been a spelling lesson with a class of nine-year olds and Jill intended them to work from prepared worksheets. However, not only did she experience

difficulties in keeping them quiet, but many finished the worksheets far more quickly than she anticipated. Self doubts multiplied throughout the first week of school experience.

I did have vague thoughts of giving up, I thought, I'm never gonna do this, I'm gonna pack it up. Yeah, what am I doing this for? I don't have to do this.

For Wendy, who Gerald Lewis described as extremely anxious, the crisis was so intense that after four days in school she left college and went to her parents' home. Some days later Wendy's parents telephoned Gerald Lewis to say she was talking of giving up the course. She only returned to the course and to school experience after several frantic telephone calls between her parents and her professional tutor.

In each of these three examples the existence of a crisis situation was essentially subjectively defined by the student. For the student teacher the crisis was an accumulation of feelings of anxiety, and doubt about claims to teacher status. For some reason, often undefined, they felt they were not measuring up to the demands of the teaching situation, not in control in the classroom and only just managing to survive. The general recognition of school experience as a critical phase had crystallised into a subjective reality. In all three instances however, the fears were not substantiated by significant others - most particularly the professional studies tutor and the supervising teacher, and the student eventually moved into a more positive and less critical phase. It is important to emphasise

however that the crisis situation, though temporary, was a sustained period of conscious self doubt. Whereas Lacey found that students coped with crisis situations by pushing the blame away from themselves towards the pupils, the 'system' or the other teachers, I found the students generally blamed themselves. Indeed, this was part of the crisis. Students felt they were failing to cope with the classroom situation because of their own lack of competence as classroom teachers.⁸ However, since all the student teachers had lessons where they temporarily experienced feelings of failure and inadequacy, the question is raised as to why for some student teachers this became a more generalised situation. A comparative analysis of interview data suggests that a significant, though not necessarily causal variable precipitating a crisis situation was the experience of 'reality shock'.

Reality shock

The early classroom encounters of all student teachers contain periods of stress and critical incidents of interpersonal conflict with pupils that are crucial to the development of a teacher identity and ultimately to career continuance in teaching (Woods, 1983, Measor, 1985). For all new teachers - whether student or probationary, the primary and most immediate concern is coping and being seen to be able to cope with the classroom situation. For a number of student teachers this involves first coming to terms with the reality of the classroom situation. Several researchers have now shown that some new teachers have

somewhat unrealistic expectations and ideas concerning pupil-teacher relations which assume ideal pupils of high motivation and co-operation (e g Whiteside, Bernbaum and Noble, 1969, Peterson, 1964, Becker, 1952b) Such expectations, as part of an idealised view of the kind of teacher one wants to be, can be threatened by the 'reality shock' of actual classroom encounters and precipitate the student into a crisis situation - or what others have called a 'baptism of fire' (Cole, 1984) or an 'initiation by ordeal' (Grace, 1978)

The concept of 'reality shock' has been used by a number of researchers in the field of teacher education, but as Atkinson and Delamont (1985) have pointed out, it has remained undeveloped and 'apparently all but ignored' (p 308) The concept is implicit in Becker's (1952b) article entitled 'Social class variations in the teacher-pupil relationship' Here he argues that people going into service occupations like teaching tend to form an image of the ideal client (pupil) with whom they will be dealing and to the extent that ideals do not match up with the actuality of the work situation, adjustment will be necessary The concept has been used explicitly by Peterson (1964) in a study of school-teachers who experience 'reality shock' in coming to terms with problems of disciplining and motivating students Whiteside, Bernbaum and Noble (1969) have also used the concept of 'reality shock' in their study of P G C E students' adjustment to problems arising from their idealised conceptions of highly motivated learners In all these instances the concept is used loosely and it is not always clear whether it involves a gradual coming to terms with

reality or a sudden, once and for all change. Nonetheless it is clear that in each case the reality to be adjusted to is that of pupils and classrooms. By examining the crisis situations experienced by three student teachers in detail, I hope to widen out the concept of 'reality shock' in order to present a more accurate analysis of first school experience. The student teachers are Jill, Sara, and Fay whose crisis situation lasted the whole four weeks of school experience.

In common with other students in the period before school experience, Sara, Jill and Fay were extremely apprehensive and experienced considerable self doubts. At the same time, however, they all expressed a degree of idealism in their expectations of themselves as teachers and the pupils they would teach. Jill for example was quite explicit about the contradictory images she envisaged of teaching situations.

Jill [I was terrified] of being able to occupy the children and uhh, just some situations, I thought might arise where the children were running wild or being naughty and then at the same time I was convinced that I'd have this wonderful class and they'd hang on to every word you know, I had these two sort of pictures and I didn't know which, what it was going to be like.

At the same time as expecting the pupils to be highly motivated, Jill had extremely high expectations of her own competence.

I did expect really, that I would be able to go in and I would be able to be a perfect teacher, you know, I didn't think I would need to learn.

Sara also had high expectations

before I'd actually started, I wanted
my lessons to be, not necessarily the best
but I wanted a certain standard and
I also anticipated that all the children
would be interested, that they'd immediately
come into the lessons and want to learn
History or English

For both Sara and Jill a classroom image of highly motivated learners and themselves as efficient and competent teachers alternated with the feelings of anxiety, self-doubt and anticipation of potential 'critical incidents' which all the students felt. Once in school, the high expectation of themselves and the pupils were quickly threatened. Jill and Sara found that the real conditions of classroom teaching confirmed their feelings of insecurity and raised doubts about their potential to become teachers.

Jill experienced problems with classroom control and with lesson content. These led her to doubt her claim to teacher status. Moreover, these self-doubts were reinforced by strong feelings that the teacher supervising school experience was critical of her classroom teaching.

I felt that the form teacher was disapproving
I really felt this strongly

MS Why did you?

Jill I just felt she was, once or twice in
lessons she chipped in - in a very nice way,
but I just felt I should be able to I
shouldn't need her to do that I felt
she was disapproving of the way I was putting
it over

At the beginning of the second week of school experience, when Jill directly asked the teacher for more guidance, the crisis situation was abruptly ended

Eventually I said 'Look', I said, 'I do feel I'm not doing as well as I should be', I said, you know, 'can you give me any more guidance?' and she said, 'well' she said, 'quite honestly you're the best student I've had in', and she said, 'the matter of control will come', but she said 'you're doing better [unintelligible]', which I was absolutely stunned with I didn't think I would need to learn, whereas now, in fact, there's so much you know I would imagine even after this year doing two or three teaching practices, then you get your first job - an awful lot to learn Whereas I did tend to think I would be prepared and ready for my you know, I would be able to teach, no problems, which just wasn't so

Jill's crisis situation lasted for the first week of the school experience Her image of pupils 'hanging on to every word' and of her own competence as a 'perfect teacher' did not last long in a classroom context where pupils were difficult to keep quiet and there was an apparently disapproving teacher Jill was forced by the reality of classroom teaching to reassess her commitment to teaching and, more particularly, her self-image as a teacher A similar coming to terms with reality was experienced by Sara

I didn't realise it would be so difficult, I thought it would come naturally to me, I'd go into the classroom and things would run smoothly and that was it

For Sara reality came with the 'awful' lesson at the end of the first day. It was a creative writing lesson with a class of eleven-year olds. The class was asked to write a poem based on the themes of colour and movement which Sara said in retrospect had been too ambitious. She also felt that her nervousness had been communicated to the pupils. She said that while the girls had been interested and wanted to participate, the boys had been 'intent on disrupting the lesson'. Sara felt out of control. 'pupils kept coming up to ask questions - that's another thing I hadn't anticipated, the fact that I'd have four or five up at the same time wanting help'. This was the prelude to Sara getting on the wrong bus to go home. She told me she continued 'to have problems' with this group throughout her school experience and over the first week her feelings of inability to cope mounted, resulting in her walking out of one class and asking the Head of Department to take over. Sara felt her confidence plummet further after a first visit from her professional studies tutor.

I remember the first lesson when my tutor came in and I thought it was awful chaos and funnily enough he didn't speak to me at the end of the lesson, he had to rush off to see another student, and I was so pleased, 'cause I think had he spoken to me then I felt so disillusioned. I think I would have cried, I just felt so you do become very emotional, you feel so vulnerable and a bit humiliated. I thought he thought it was a bad lesson, but when I eventually read what he'd written about me, it wasn't nearly as bad as I thought it was.

Sara not only found the school situation 'a lot more difficult than I anticipated' but also very threatening. Tutors visits increased her feelings of vulnerability, but this was a common feeling in all classroom situations

there was always something that happened that I couldn't deal with, you know remembering where the new exercise books were the children knew the score though and the fact that you have to ask them immediately makes you vulnerable or you seem vulnerable to them

The feeling that pupils might take advantage, together with extreme tiredness and a recognition of the difficulties of classroom management, precipitated Sara into a situation of crisis where she questioned her commitment to teaching. Her survival was under threat but was 'rescued' by her professional studies tutor to whom she explained her feelings in the second week of the school experience

He was very helpful, he said it was understandable and to be expected. I don't think I could have carried on but for this

Pupils were key figures in producing crisis situations as 'critical reality definers' (Riseborough, 1985). College tutors and classroom teachers also occupied pivotal roles in students' school experience. In this sense tutors and teachers might also^{be} critical reality definers. This was very much the case for Fay

Displacing the blame

Fay was one of three students who apparently experienced a crisis situation lasting the whole four weeks of the first school experience. In her early twenties, Fay had come to the B Ed course as a result of a decision to change direction in her career away from secretarial and personnel work. As a mature student, heavily involved in college drama productions, Fay appeared to have a degree of self-confidence and energy that marked her out from the other student teachers. In the tutors' terms she was 'dynamic'. Fay claimed that before starting her school experience she had not had time to be too apprehensive because she was involved in a drama production which was 'more terrifying'. 'Anyway', she said, 'I tend to take a philosophical attitude you're going to go so there's no point in worrying about it'. Fay was however, unprepared for the 'reality shock' she experienced when she began her school experience in a modern, open plan middle school on one of the town's development estates. Fay told me about her first lesson with the class she was primarily attached to in the school

[It went] disastrously - well not really disastrously but the, the children were obviously used to, um, extreme discipline, being directed totally what to do, () and wasting an awful lot of time, and of course thumping other children along the way as they did so, and I found that incredible, I was just so shocked by the whole thing () I was really very surprised and whereas I think I went in

and my expectation was higher than it should have been of them, they were extremely backward for their age in all sorts of ways, not just in their work, in their general behaviour, but that was basically because they'd had a teacher who'd let them get away with it

Fay said she was 'in despair' for four weeks, thinking 'oh my God', I'm not cut out for this'' The contrast between Fay's expectations and the reality of classroom life, at least in this particular school, came as a considerable shock and contributed not only to the precipitation of a continuing situation where claims to teacher identity were in crisis, but also to a degree of disillusion with teaching itself Fay told me that after this school experience she definitely felt less committed to teaching and there was as a result 'no way' she would consider it as a long-term career Despite this, her commitment in the short term at least was maintained

Fay maintained her commitment by defining the situation she found in the school as untypical, and displacing the blame away from herself Like Sara and Jill, Fay questioned her own competence as a potential teacher throughout her time in the school However, by the time the block of school experience was over she fluctuated, like Lacey's students, in displacing the blame first in an establishment direction (towards the pupils) and then more emphatically in a radical direction (towards the teaching hierarchy) This was not typical of other students I interviewed The following interview extract shows how Fay moves through blaming herself, the pupils, the form teacher, the deputy head to 'the system'

I really felt hopeless because I couldn't do anything, everything I tried I just came up against the same problems. If somebody had come to me at the beginning and said to me, or at least given me some insight into the fact that these children who were causing me a great deal of trouble really, had said 'well they are like this, it's not just you, and this is the way to deal with this particular' and that's what the form teacher should have done, but she didn't. She more or less threw me in at the deep end and then she was sort of sitting back saying 'hmm, there you are, you see' (). In the end I had to go to the Deputy Head and she admitted she was at fault, she was supposed to be responsible () but I think the whole system is so ludicrous, the more I'm in it, the more I think it's ludicrous.

By displacing the blame in this way and drawing upon the 'incredible support and encouragement for what I was doing' from her professional studies tutor, Fay was able to maintain her (weakened) commitment and even, implicitly some of her idealism.

I thought to be quite honest with you, if I had to go through that experience again I would pack it in, I wouldn't do it. If I honestly envisaged having to go into a school like that again under those circumstances, I wouldn't even bother going. Because that's not what I consider teaching is about, this fact that you're just having to battle all the time.

Criticising the teachers

Running throughout Fay's comments on her time in school was strong and emphatic criticism of the teachers she met on school experience. She was particularly critical of the teacher whose class she had taken over. Fay regarded this teacher not only as professionally incompetent, but as actively seeking to undermine Fay's own competence in the classroom by withholding support and co-operation. Fay was also extremely critical of the staff in general for not providing the kind of support, advice and basic information about pupils, procedures and routines which she felt would have enabled her to cope more successfully. Her unhappy relationship with the school staff was so central to Fay's account of school experience that there seems little doubt the conflict she experienced was a major factor in intensifying the reality shock and thus the crisis situation of her first school experience. For Fay, the 'critical reality definers' were the pupils and the school staff. Fay found herself very strongly opposed to their definition of school and classroom reality. Like Sara and Jill, her survival then depended upon the support and encouragement offered by at least one significant other, in this case her professional studies tutor.

The key role played by school teachers in a student teacher's professional socialisation is explored more fully in Chapter 9, but here we will be concerned with the marked contrast in the relationships of student teachers to school teachers between those student teachers who did and did not experience a crisis situation on their first school experience.

Criticism by students of teachers, based on their contact with and observations of teachers was a theme common to students who experienced a crisis situation. Such criticism usually signified, at least in the students' perception, a less than harmonious relationship with some of the staff in the school. Criticism ranged from a questioning of the teachers' professionalism and/or teaching competence, through mild irritation with their perspective or lack of friendliness and support.

Jill I wasn't very happy with what I was doing, we weren't actually producing anything very brilliant and I asked - the form teacher suggested that I ask the Head of the Art Department if he could give me some advice on what sort of things to do - umm, with them, which I was very happy to do and he was extremely rude to me. He said 'I don't see why I should help you at all'. He said, uhh he was really quite rude to me when I approached him in quite a friendly manner () I didn't expect to be treated in that manner, he was really rude to me.

Sara I got on with them OK, but I found they were perhaps a bit narrow-minded, especially in their ways and their attitudes towards the children () all they spent their time doing, moaning about the children.

Fay it seemed to be the predominant practice throughout the school of shouting by the teachers at the children. I found I really hated it. I found it extremely disturbing () the fact that I hadn't much support from the school throughout. I did feel that the Deputy Head was in fact trying to

smooth things over, politically for herself at the end, because she had an extremely long interview with me at one point and she tried extremely hard to make me see things in the point of view she was seeing them from, and I wasn't having any of it

In these examples the student teachers hold decidedly negative assessments of the teacher(s) referred to. Some criticisms allude to individual teachers and some to the school staff as a collectivity. In all the examples however, the criticism constitutes an implicit questioning of the teachers' professional and/or personal competence. This was particularly with reference to the teachers' relationships with pupils or more directly their relationships with themselves as student teachers. Actions and attitudes which implied a lack of respect for themselves or for pupils were reacted to with hurt, anger and disapproval on the part of the student teachers. This was in contrast to the student teacher - teacher relationships described by those students who were quickly into a honeymoon period.

MS What were the staff like?

Rachel Very nice, very helpful - extremely so - couldn't have asked for a nicer staff

Mike They [the staff] were very nice, very friendly, made a point of talking in the staffroom, didn't make you feel as if you were a student

Julia The class teacher of the class I was attached to she was really nice, very helpful and she said, uhhm, you know, if I wanted anything just ask, and she saw that I had everything I needed

These students regarded the teachers they came into contact with in their schools as open, friendly and helpful, working with them as student teachers and not in some kind of conflict with them. The lack of criticism by student teachers who found school experience an identity-confirming experience, in contrast to those students who found it a much more traumatic experience, strongly suggests that the student teachers' relationship with school staff was significant in intensifying or allaying feelings of crisis. Accordingly, in order to understand the variation in student teachers' first experiences of the reality of classroom life it is necessary to consider the relationship between self-image, significant others and the students' reference groups.

Self-image, significant others and negative reference groups

In the formation and maintenance of self, crucial parts are played by significant others - those who have the most intimate socialising capability for an individual - and the generalised other as mediated through the beliefs and behaviours of various reference groups. Reference groups are groups which the individual uses for self-evaluation and as a source of personal goals and values. These need not be friendship or membership groups, as indicated by the term negative reference group. Identification or non-identification rather than association or membership is the crucial factor.

Nias (1985) has pointed out that the concept of reference group has been given three main meanings in the work of sociologists over the last forty years. The first meaning

is comparative, indicating a group serving as a standard of comparison for self-appraisal. The second meaning is normative, indicating a group by whom a person wishes to be accepted and treated as a member. Thirdly, there is the perceptual meaning of the term: this is where the norms of the reference group become the frame of reference for organising the world and thus for determining what is accepted information about reality. Implicit in Nias' discussion of the normative and perceptual reference groups of primary school teachers is the point that these distinctions are not just different sociological uses of the term 'reference group' but that they also tap the different ways in which individuals actually relate to reference groups, and indeed, to significant others. The case of student teachers clearly illustrates this point.

The most frequently-invoked reference group for teachers is pupils (Nias, 1985, Sikes, Measor and Woods, 1985). As we shall see in more detail in Chapter 7, it is through pupils that many student teachers (and teachers) actually achieve their ambitions and find their personal and social teacher identities confirmed. But it is equally the case that pupils can be responsible for undermining the teacher's aspirations and thus presenting a serious threat to the student teacher's establishment and maintenance of a teacher identity. Where student teachers enter teaching with high and idealistic expectations, possibly based on their own positive experience as pupils of schooling and teachers, the experience of a 'reality shock' can precipitate a crisis of identity for the student teacher. As a perceptual reference group, pupils therefore have a powerful influence

in determining the student teacher's self-image in adapting to the practical realities of the classroom, student teachers are in effect adapting their identities - and not always in ways over which they feel some control Pupils can represent a very concrete threat to ideals, which is why the experience of initial classroom encounters can be an extremely critical period Whether and how such crisis situations are resolved depends upon the referential support student teachers find within the school experience school

Nias (1985) maintains that teachers need the affective and affiliative support of their colleagues, especially in circumstances where they feel themselves under threat from pupils This study strongly supports that view Student teachers who failed to find referential support within their schools, as was the situation for Sara, Jill and Fay, felt their identity under threat and their claim to teacher status most unstable For these students, the membership group of the school constituted a negative perceptual reference group and at best an ambiguous normative reference group This meant attitudes to pupils as manifested in staffroom talk or classroom practice were rejected as inappropriate definitions of teaching reality Fay most vigorously, but also Sara and Jill, did not accept the frame of reference represented by the teachers in their respective schools In this way, the school staff were a negative perceptual reference group Normatively, however the student teachers' relationship to the school staff was somewhat ambiguous For all student teachers, acceptance

by the teaching staff of the school was important (not least because without it the school experience was likely to be difficult at best, and at worst it was a major factor in school experience assessment), but student teachers did not always willingly embrace the norms and values of teachers in schools ⁹ Criticism of teachers was a common theme in a number of interviews with student teachers. It would seem student teachers held clear but implicit ideas about the kind of teachers they wished to identify with and for some, the teachers with whom they came into contact in schools represented a negative reference group. This suggests that negative conceptions of teachers and teaching are personified in teachers met on school experience and student teachers then construct their own identity in opposition to this ¹⁰

In marked contrast were those students who did not experience crisis situations and went quickly into 'honeymoon periods'. These students talked about school staff in very positive and praiseworthy terms and did not voice any criticisms relating to the teachers' pedagogy, ideology or philosophy. This group of student teachers generally perceived a great deal of positive support from teachers and regarded the membership group of the school as both a normative and perceptual reference group. In effect, this provided a perceptual frame of reference which countered that deriving from rumour and myth in the pre-school experience period.

For students who experienced an identity crisis and for whom affiliative support from the school staff was not forthcoming, continuance in the teacher education course was

in some question The student's actual survival and the resolution of the crisis situation was ensured by the confirming support offered by one or two significant others the professional studies tutor, a supervising teacher, and although this study does not confirm it, possibly parents, friends and other student teachers Confirming and supportive responses from at least one significant other were necessary to provide nurturance to the student teachers' developing self image Such significant others provided confirmation of students' own perceptual frame of reference, and, more importantly, their competence, and thus served to strengthen commitment For some students, this was enough to take them through the crisis and into a more confident period of learning to cope

Conclusion

On the basis of a case study of the P G C E course at Sussex University, where student teachers spent part of every week in the academic year on school experience in one school, Lacey (1977) provided a description of the process of becoming a teacher in terms of a number of stages through which students pass My study, based on fieldwork of the professional studies year of a more 'traditional' B Ed course, where student teachers alternated three blocks of school experience in different schools with periods in college, has utilised Lacey's framework to provide an analysis of the student teachers' first school experience This analysis also regards the student teacher as going through a

number of experiential stages of a subjective nature, but it does not assume, as Lacey does, that all students go through the same stages. Indeed, as the data presented in the earlier parts of the chapter show, student teachers had very different subjective experiences in this 'critical phase'. Nonetheless, certain patterns have been discernible, and it is possible to present a basic model of this phase of teacher socialisation.

Figure 2 The first school experience a model

	Pre-school experience	Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4
A	apprehension	honeymoon period		learning to cope	
B	apprehension	crisis	learning to cope -----		
C	apprehension	crisis	-----		

For all student teachers the period running up to the first school experience was one of anticipatory socialisation, where feelings of self-doubt and apprehension prevailed. Such doubts provided a foundation for the generation of a student teacher mythology, drawing on stereotypes of schools, teachers and pupils and structured around the dramatic recounting of potential critical incidents. As part of the anticipatory socialisation period, such stories served to ease the status transition to student teacher.

For the majority of students (A), the first school experience was a honeymoon period. The 'pre-wedding' nerves and doubts were banished, confidence was given a positive boost and claims to teacher identity subjectively confirmed.

This is not to say such students did not experience problems or even severe crises of confidence, but in contrast to the dreadful possibilities made explicit in the pre-school experience phase, this was a period of optimism. A second and much smaller group of students (B) found the start of school experience to be a period of acute stress. The doubts and anxieties typically anticipated by the students seemed confirmed or even heightened. A crisis situation developed as students experienced 'reality shock' and searched for some support to burgeon their fragile teacher identity and self-image. It was only once this was found that the student teacher began to come to terms with the reality of the classroom and develop ways of coping. For a small minority of students (C), this situation of crisis lasted for the whole four weeks and 'survival' made necessary a considerable amount of displacement of blame.

It must be emphasised that this analysis is only partial; it represents an attempt to gain an understanding of school experience from the student teacher's point of view. In taking an interactionist view of the process of teacher socialisation it is conceptualised as a subjective career in which the individual student teacher strives to establish, develop and maintain a self-image as a teacher (Becker and Strauss, 1956). The self is a social object emerging from social interaction and continually undergoing adjustment as social relationships and contexts change (Mead, 1934). Teacher education and in particular, school experience, present new experiences, interactions, relationships and

contexts Crucially for the student teacher, it involves a status passage within a set of college and school relationships which will henceforward be central to their lifeworld and sense of personal identity

The process of professional socialisation must be regarded as involving constant negotiation within a set of power relationships which are constraining on the student teachers' autonomy to establish a teacher identity Significant others in the socialisation process become critical reality definers with whom the student teacher attempts to adapt, resist and negotiate, in order to strengthen and maintain claims to teacher status and identity From this point of view, the first school experience is undoubtedly a critical phase in the career of the student teacher Survival depends upon learning to cope, and it is to this aspect of the process of professional socialisation that we turn our attention in the next chapter

Notes

- 1 Unless otherwise stated, all data presented in this chapter comes from interviews
- 2 Extract from fieldnotes
- 3 Ibid
- 4 Ibid
- 5 Ibid
- 6 Ibid
- 7 Ibid
- 8 This is supported by Nias' (1985) study of primary school teachers
- 9 For further evidence and discussion on this, see Chapter 9
- 10 This compares with Measor and Woods' (1984) 'polarities' model of identity construction
- 11 Learning to cope is the focus of Chapter 5

CHAPTER 5

LEARNING TO COPE NOISE AND CONTROL

Having emerged from the euphoria of initial honeymoon periods or from the stress of crisis situations with an intact but fragile teacher identity, student teachers embarked upon the serious business of learning to cope in the classroom. For most, this began part way through the first school experience and continued throughout the next two, but for a minority who suffered crisis situations it did not begin until the second block of school experience. It is this process of learning to cope in the classroom context with which the next three chapters are concerned. This is viewed as an aspect of the student teachers' longer term survival problem and it identifies the significance of classroom control as central to an understanding of the process of becoming a teacher.

The student teacher's 'survival' problem

Much recent research focusing on classroom interaction draws attention to the survival problem faced by participants in classroom life and the ways in which both teachers and pupils negotiate and adapt to school life through the use of a range of coping strategies.¹ Some of this research incidentally includes student teachers, but none focuses specifically on their 'survival problem'.² This is an important omission because student teachers, as I shall show,

in many ways face a more acute survival problem than established or probationary teachers

In the previous chapter we saw that student teachers endured a fear of the unknown. In the pre-school experience period they suffered acute anxieties about their own abilities and competencies as potential teachers, and crucially their capacity to cope with critical incidents in the classroom situation. Such anxieties were fuelled by rumours concerning school reputations and potentially dramatic critical incidents. As part of their anticipatory socialisation, student teachers therefore became aware that teacher competence relies as much, if not more, upon recipe knowledge gained as a result of practical teaching experience, as upon formal preparation in college. Lacking such experience, but with much 'common sense' practical knowledge of classrooms derived from pupil perspectives, in a very real sense student teachers had doubts about their capacity to survive initial classroom encounters.

Doubts about coping were intensified by the fact that short term survival in the classroom was necessary for the longer term survival of the teacher education course. Failure to cope in the classroom could precipitate failure of the degree course. This meant that it was not only personal identity which was at risk, but a stake in an academic investment and a professional career. For the student teacher the risks were high. Being faced with two mutually interdependent survival problems had a number of implications for student teachers and classroom life.

Contemporary analyses of teaching view teachers as working under various constraints that may restrict opportunities to achieve aims. These constraints range from the expectations and actions of others participating in the school or classroom situation to the constraints of the physical setting. As Leacock (1969, p 202) has observed

teachers cannot simply interact with the children in their classrooms according to their desires and personal style. Instead their behaviour often takes on characteristics beyond their immediate aims or intents. They must adapt their style not only to the children but to the institution, to the principal's requirements, to the other teachers' attitudes, and to the standards according to which they will be evaluated.

If this applies to established teachers, it is likely to have even greater significance for student teachers. Like established teachers, student teachers face the problem of adapting to and negotiating with significant others in the school situation. For student teachers this involves negotiating a varied set of expectations from pupils, supervisory teachers and other members of the school staff. However, student teachers, unlike established teachers, have yet another and potentially contradictory set of expectations with which to contend. These are the expectations posed by the teacher education institution and its staff. Student teachers face the problem of negotiating a double set of expectations - school and college - which may well confront them with contradictory constraints necessitating strategic negotiation. Moreover, such expectations are likely to be embodied in formal assessment criteria. This relates to the physical and institutional context in which the student teacher must work.

A number of researchers have considered the constraints effected by closed and open classrooms ³ Most teachers have traditionally and still, typically, teach in closed classrooms which as Denscombe (1980) points out, have been regarded as sanctuaries against the interference of administrators, parents and colleagues, protecting teachers against attacks on their autonomy Classrooms are not sanctuaries for student teachers Whether a student teacher is working in a formally open or closed classroom, that classroom is always in a sense 'open' This is because student teachers are aware that at any moment, someone whom they know can be there to observe and assess their teaching competence, may walk in The classrooms of student teachers are always open to class or subject teachers, supervising teachers and college tutors The student teacher's classroom does not provide safeguards to autonomy or indeed to teacher competence In this sense the status of student teacher places a different meaning on the physical setting of the classroom

It is however, the immediate social context of the classroom which has attracted most attention from researchers concerned with classroom survival Thus Woods (1979) has viewed teachers as continuously developing survival strategies to deal with the problem of control in the classroom Woods makes out a case that teachers are coming under increasing pressures 'the ever-tightening grip of a powerful pincer-movement, with 'professional demands' on one side and 'recalcitrant material' in the form of reluctant or resentful

pupils on the other' (p 141), and effectively argues that problems of control have become paramount for survival

He contends that teachers face an acute survival problem

what is at risk is not only his physical, mental and nervous safety and well-being, but also his continuance in professional life, his future prospects, his professional identity, his way of life, his status, his self-esteem, all of which are a product of an accumulating investment process (p 145)

This necessitates the development of a 'hidden pedagogy' of survival or coping strategies which can dominate teacher activities so that, Woods maintains, keeping control in the classroom begins to blot out any educational development of the children According to Woods, the pressure to maintain control means that survival strategies often take the place of teaching and even assume its guise More research is necessary to ascertain the precise conditions under which this happens, however it is central to the analysis of student teachers' classroom experience presented in this chapter that 'coping' or 'survival' cannot take the place of teaching This is because student teachers are formally assessed in the classroom by tutors and by supervising teachers in terms of their teaching competence as well as their ability to maintain classroom control Student teachers must not only survive, they must also teach or at least be seen to be teaching

This is not to suggest that control and teaching are distinct teacher activities, or clearly discernible in classroom action, nor is it to reverse Woods' formulation and maintain that control is of secondary importance to

teaching for student teachers. Indeed, a basic theme of this study is the salience of the notion of classroom control for an understanding of teacher socialisation. Denscombe (1985) has made this clear in his detailed study of classroom control. He shows how responsibility for control is a basic feature of the work of school teachers and is a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for teacher competence. Competent teaching requires more than the ability to control, but control is not just one of many skills necessary for competence, it is a fundamental pre-requisite and cannot be compensated for by strengths in other teaching skills. The need for teachers to establish classroom control is, Denscombe maintains, at the heart of the hidden pedagogy of teaching. As a pre-requisite to teacher competence, classroom control assumes a particular significance for student teachers. The data presented in this and the next two chapters will show that this was certainly true of the student teachers I studied. All saw control as both an important part of being a teacher and a potential problem of teaching. On the one hand the professional demands of teaching required competence, a pre-requisite of which was the capacity to maintain order but at the same time, schools were full of pupils who threatened classroom order. This I shall argue is the essence of the survival problem confronting student teachers and becomes the focus of learning to cope. The rest of this chapter is concerned with the control problem and how it was experienced by student teachers. We begin by analysing the ideology of classroom control intrinsic to the teacher education course.

An ideology of control 'class management'
and 'fraternisation'

The existence of a hidden pedagogy, an unwritten set of assumptions relating to fundamental principles of teaching and classroom activity which parallels the hidden curriculum, is now recognised by classroom researchers. The essence of the hidden pedagogy is, as Denscombe (1982, 1985) argues, the need for teachers to establish classroom control. In Chapter 8, I examine in some detail the pervasiveness of the hidden pedagogy to the professional studies tutors' perspectives, here I concentrate on the ideology of control embodied in the curriculum studies element of the professional studies course. This ideology was not a coherent set of principles and practices formally constructed into the course by the tutors, rather it consisted of a number of public and orthodox assumptions about principles of good teaching and informal, 'ad hoc' advice relating to practice. The ideology was never articulated as a whole, rather it was simply a series of diffuse assumptions informing aspects of the course. The analysis presented here starts from this premise and attempts to make explicit two fundamental strands of the ideology in order to contextualise student teachers' experiences of classroom control in schools.

The ideology of control as represented to student teachers by professional studies tutors was centred on two related strands which I term 'class management' and 'fraternisation'. The former was embodied in the formal curriculum of the professional studies course, while the latter related more closely to the informal or hidden

curriculum and pedagogy of teacher education We will
examine each of these strands in turn

As a component of the formal curriculum of the teacher education course, 'class management' was part of the seminar programme in the curriculum studies blocks of the professional studies year

Block 1

- (9) Class management starting lessons, gaining attention, giving instructions, using questions, preventing and coping with problems of control, organisation of materials (storage and distribution), etc

Block 3

- (2) Extension of basic teaching skills in class management including simulation exercises/ critical incidents etc 4

This constituted approximately one-and-a-half to two days as part of the seminar sessions⁵ and was regarded as an introduction to the basic skills of managing a class including, for example, an emphasis on giving clear and precise instructions (not issuing them when pupils' attention is elsewhere), different questioning techniques (direct and indirect questions), the efficient organisation of materials (making sure there are enough scissors, books, protractors, that the tape recorder works) and so on. The implication underlying the emphasis on such skills was that efficient class management helps prevent disorder arising. This was frequently made explicit to the students

PB in P E , for example, make sure they
can all hear you when you are issuing
instructions, otherwise you'll get them,
'Miss, Miss, what are we supposed to be
doing?', which also gives them an excuse
to bat one another with hockey sticks or
tennis racquets⁶

Students appreciated these sessions and referred to them as the most 'relevant' and 'useful' parts of the course in relation to school experience, although it was not always the formal content that was seen from this perspective

Julia the 'classroom management' was quite good, but it was more help when we could discuss it and say to Paul 'if this came up what would you do?' and he'd give us an example of what he'd done That's what I found useful, not all the talk about permissive and strict and this sort of thing, it was actual examples of what he would have done in a situation that I found useful Things like what you'd do if a kid tells you lies or comes up and tells tales ⁷

Professional studies tutors recognised the concern of students with issues of control and discipline and their desire for practical recipes, as stated by Julia This, however, presented the tutors with a dilemma Concerned to placate the anxieties of students, but firmly of the belief that there are no recipes or strategies that work for everyone, tutors emphasised the personal and interactive nature of relationships between pupils and teachers This was graphically put across to students by one tutor who drew on his own teaching experience

BW warned them not to copy other teachers' styles and reinforced this by giving an example from his own experience When he had been a deputy head, he had had a student watch him teach a class with which he had a 'particular repartee' 'a relationship where they could give as good as they got, but they knew where to draw the line - friendly banter and humour but not

cheek or insolence' At the end of the lesson, he said the student had been very enthusiastic 'that's marvellous, great, just what teaching should be' Then she had been left to take the class but when BW returned at the end of the lesson she was in tears She had obviously, he said, tried to adopt the same style as himself, but of course she had not established a relationship with them as yet, and consequently they had taken advantage, seeing just how far they could go ⁸

Here we come across the second strand of the ideology of control 'fraternisation' ⁹ In attempting to satisfy the students' demands for practical advice on classroom control, and maintain the view that there are no set rules or recipes which they can offer, the professional studies tutors advocated a generalised strategy that can be termed 'fraternisation' 'Fraternisation' means working for amicable relations with pupils, based on mutual understanding and a degree of camaraderie Although there was no official space for it in the seminar programme, fraternisation was a significant and unquestioned assumption informing the teacher education course In this way it can be regarded as part of the informal or hidden curriculum and implicitly taken for granted by both the teacher education staff and later by the student teachers Indeed, the importance of establishing a 'good relationship' with pupils is commonly regarded as fundamental to teacher competence (Marland, 1975, Bennett and Martin, 1980) Student teachers were continuously exhorted by their professional studies tutors to nurture appropriate relationships with pupils.

"the most important thing is getting a proper relationship with the kids"
 "a sympathetic but firm relationship with pupils"
 "relationships with children should be relaxed but tight - don't let them treat you like an Aunt Sally" 10

Although the development of 'good' teacher-pupil relationships is regarded as essential to successful primary and secondary school teaching, Pollard (1985a) has pointed out that the concept of a 'good' - or even a 'proper' - 'relaxed but tight' or 'sympathetic and firm' relationship, is intangible and elusive. This leads Pollard to ask 'how is a student teacher or teacher in difficulties to be inducted into the process of osmosis by which a "good relationship" will grow' (p 8). Certainly the principles of establishing 'good' teacher-pupil relationships were not formally discussed in seminars at Haydon Park College. Nonetheless, it was possible to identify the articulation of the general strategy of fraternisation on the part of the professional studies tutors, particularly with reference to two specific strategies which might be used to foster fraternisation: friendliness and entertainment.

Student teachers were encouraged to fraternise with pupils in order to nurture 'good' relationships, but this was only made explicit when a student teacher had not successfully established such a relationship. This was, for example, the case with Adrian on his second school experience.

PB said that his main worry now was Adrian () he had seen Adrian teach a lesson last week where the class were just not paying attention and were chatting among themselves. Adrian, he said, had obviously not developed a relationship with them.

'I asked him why he thought the relationship had not got off the ground - did he like the kids, if he didn't, did he at least give the appearance of liking them, did he chat to them going in and out of lessons?',¹¹

On the whole friendliness was left implicit in the notion of a 'good' relationship with pupils. Reference to this and to the second feature of 'fraternisation', 'entertainment', is evident in the following extract from fieldnotes on a seminar about evaluating lessons on school experience

BW suggested a series of headings, in terms of which students might evaluate their lessons ()

7) management and control of class

BW said it was better to be strict at the beginning and relax later, it was possible to do this, but much more difficult to tighten up later. But, ultimately, he said, only charisma will hold a class, 'you must entertain them as well as teach them - you can't rely on punishments all the time, but on the other hand, you mustn't think you've failed if you have to send a child to the senior mistress or the deputy head. But you must make the material interesting and motivate them'. He said it was not so much getting them to like you, but respect you. He went on to say that he knew some schools where the boys are called by their surnames and everything is very formal, but this can mean the children end up in fear of you.

The old dictum of 'starting off hard' was advocated, but tempered by an emphasis upon interpersonal skills as a means of winning over pupils and using interesting content material to stimulate motivation. The 'good relationship' was defined as one of pupil respect not fear, founded upon friendliness and entertainment within a context of 'firm

discipline' Thus while the notion of a 'good' relationship was implicitly linked to the student teacher's personal and interactive skills, 'entertainment' was explicitly defined and emphasised throughout the course in terms of lesson content To entertain classes, lessons must be interesting, and to make lessons interesting, pupils must be motivated by providing a variety of learning activities and using resources lessons should be stimulating for both teacher and pupils The following extract is from fieldnotes on a seminar about planning schemes of work and explicitly links lesson content with entertainment.

'Consider what you want them to do and consider variation in output' BW said that his daughter had recently come home from school complaining that every lesson was the same - they patently were not of course, because they were different subjects, but they took the same form - the teacher would talk about something and then say 'take down these notes' Many lessons, he said, were boring, he'd sat in many lessons where he felt like saying to the class 'shall we go, I've had enough' He said he had never actually done this, but he would never be surprised if students or pupils simply got up, said they couldn't take any more and left ()

'Resources must be considered, film for example, when can film be used and why?' BS said it could be used at the beginning to give interest, in the middle to boost interest, when interest is flagging, or at the end as a summary 'You must entertain the children, not in the sense of top hat and tap dancing, but you are in the business of selling education and so you must entertain them'

It seems possible to conceptualise these two features of the general strategy of 'fraternisation' as corresponding to two analytically distinct roles the student teacher was encouraged to adopt, both of which were regarded as central to the maintenance of order in the classroom. The strategy of 'friendliness' corresponded to the 'teacher as person' role, while the strategy of 'entertainment' corresponded to that of 'teacher as teacher'. This meant that the potential problem of class control was dealt with by encouraging student teachers to nurture a relationship with children as individuals rather than teachers - to use a popular cliché, 'showing them we're human'. Student teachers must like their pupils and their pupils must in turn 'relate' to them. This was to be achieved through friendliness, chatting to and demonstrating interest in the pupils, contexts in which the teacher role is subordinated to the person/individual role, although the status of teacher must remain to underlie all pupil-teacher interaction in order to ensure pupil respect. This emphasis on the 'teacher as person' role was substantiated by the assumption in Paul Brown's comment above to Adrian - 'did he chat to them going in and out of lessons?' - that the establishment of good relationships is peripheral, though not subordinate, to the business of teaching.

Turning to the second strategy, 'entertainment', the assumption here was that the potential problem of control for student teachers could be dealt with by making lessons interesting (the implication is clear in the above extracts that boredom produces control problems) and by motivating

pupils so that they want to co-operate. Although in practice this cannot be clearly distinguished from the 'teacher as person' role, since it is explicitly about teaching it can be conceptualised as a strategy associated with the 'teacher as teacher' role. Of course, in any lesson teachers constantly shift between the 'teacher as person' and the 'teacher as teacher' roles and at points the two strategies inevitably merge and become indistinguishable.

The student teachers were therefore encouraged to deal with the problem of control and discipline by adopting a strategy of 'fraternisation' and, as Woods (1979) notes, this can take many forms. Two were advocated by the professional studies tutors: 'friendliness' and 'entertainment'.

I have attempted to analyse the ideology of control embodied in the teacher education course, arguing that there were two fundamental strands to this ideology: 'classroom management' and 'fraternisation', loosely associated with the formal and hidden curriculum respectively. Two important points about this ideology remain to be made. First, the key to classroom control, the source of both the maintenance and breakdown of order in the classroom, was seen to be the student teacher - regardless of recalcitrant pupils and student teachers' inexperience. Second, and perhaps more importantly, the whole ideology was essentially 'preventative' rather than 'curative'. The emphasis throughout, from 'classroom management' to 'fraternisation' and its techniques was on the prevention of control problems. This leaves a significant gap within the control ideology. Efficient classroom management, friendly relationships with pupils and entertaining lessons may go some way towards the prevention

of control problems, but what if they fail? This question was recognised by student teachers even before they embarked upon their first school experience

Control the problem

During the period before school experience, students' anxiety level was high and focused particularly on their ability to cope with potential critical incidents in the classroom (see Chapter 4). The expression of such anxieties is significant, given the ideology of control discussed above.

Among their peers, students frequently posed rhetorical questions which took a 'what if ...?' form

What if they won't do as I say?

What if they ask me a question I don't know the answer to?

What if they create havoc?

Such questions were recognisable as pleas for recipes to deal with potential control problems. They were in essence appeals for coping strategies¹², something which the teacher education course had not so far provided. Such 'what if ...?' questions highlighted the 'gap' in the ideology of control offered by the teacher education course. These questions were, however, rarely directed at professional studies tutors, rarely voiced in seminars, but frequently voiced by students among their peers. Moreover, in articulating such questions, it was evident that students did not expect 'answers'. The questions were simply expressions of anxiety representing a recognition of the unpredictable nature of classroom life. Student teachers accepted the impossibility of providing ready-made strategies, but also explicitly recognised that potential control problems, although

theoretically solved by the utilisation of prevention strategies, in practice required coping strategies as well. In fact, this became the major reality of classroom experience for student teachers.

For all the student teachers, the process of learning to cope in the classroom quickly crystallised around issues of establishing control and maintaining order. This became the students' central concern, the major difficulty with which they were forced to cope. Some students were quite explicit about experiencing classroom control as a difficulty of teaching.

MS What then were the problems of teaching for you?

Sara Discipline Definitely Definitely that's a problem

MS What do you see as the difficulties of being a teacher, what difficulties did you experience in those weeks?

Abbie Ummm

MS If you had any

Abbie Oh, yeah, I had some I'm just trying to think umm I think discipline, because not being an established teacher in the school you didn't I wasn't really sure of the type of type of methods they used to keep the kids under control

MS Can I ask what you found problematic about teaching?

Rose I found practical work the most difficult, not being used to it, doing experiments and things like that, they tended to get a bit noisy sometimes I didn't really like doing those

MS Was that because ?

Rose: I'd never done any before basically [laugh]
 ... I don't feel in control really, in total
 control.... 13

Being in control of the classroom situation, keeping order and maintaining discipline were to the fore in student teachers' assessments of the difficulties of the job. Moreover, the significance of classroom control to student teachers' own evaluations of competence was evident from even a superficial analysis of their written lesson evaluations. If classroom control was a recurrent theme in the interviews conducted with student teachers after each block of school experience, it was also a prominent theme in lesson evaluations - a major criterion of the 'success' of a given classroom encounter:

Lesson went well, although I felt there were a few weaknesses in the beginning which meant behaviour tended to verge towards excitable. I felt they worked fairly well. However, I think that a means of control in addition to verbal instructions might have been useful - like a whip!
 (2nd year English lesson)

This lesson went very well. The pupils were attentive and co-operative, apart from the odd one, a girl whom I moved to the front, and consequently produced good work. I thoroughly enjoyed the lesson, with no discipline problems.
 (3rd year music lesson)

This class are quite a reasonable bunch, but had two unruly boys whose behaviour caused a little unrest in the class. When collecting the names of the pupils, they gave me false names and were eventually dealt with by the normal teacher.
 (4th year maths lesson)

Extracts from students' lesson evaluations in a range of subjects shared a common concern with classroom order and control and denote student teachers' experience of control

problems. However, it is notable in the interviews that the problem was defined in terms of the student teachers' own difficulties in maintaining order, but in lesson evaluations the problem was perceived in terms of pupil behaviour. This contrast encapsulates the dilemma facing the classroom teacher: personal responsibility for order in a situation where order is constantly threatened by the strategies pupils employ in negotiating classroom life. This also helps to explain why learning to cope became focused upon the issue of classroom control.

In the run-up period to the first school experience, students seemingly anticipated all kinds of potentially critical incidents which might challenge their ability to cope physically, emotionally and intellectually in the classroom. Such anxieties were centred upon control, but included other aspects of teaching and school life. Once in school, most students fairly quickly discovered that many of the problems they anticipated did not exist, they could deal with pupils' questions, moreover, pupils could answer their questions. Most school staff were found to be friendly and supportive. Preparation for lessons was managed and student teachers found themselves able to stand in front of a class and 'perform'. Children did not 'run riot'. Although anticipated as potentially problematic, these aspects of school experience did not emerge as such. However, the everyday reality of the classroom did confront the student teacher with a problem, the reality of which was only partially anticipated: the problem of control. Not

only was this the real problem facing all student teachers, it was a problem which to a greater or lesser degree they did not successfully cope with. Indeed, this was one aspect of classroom life where the students felt themselves to be constantly failing. Aware that responsibility for classroom order rests with the teacher and is an essential characteristic of teacher competence, but faced with a classroom reality which apparently militates against the achievement of order, coping assumes a problematic status. Moreover, since the students were being continually assessed by both their supervisory teachers and college tutors, it was not surprising that this should surface as the coping problem facing student teachers.

To say that classroom control seemed to be the aspect of teaching which caused student teachers the most anxiety is nothing new. A number of studies both of student and probationary teachers have pointed to this.¹⁴ Few studies, however, actually examine the phenomenon of classroom control and its attendant problems for established teachers, let alone new recruits.¹⁵ It is to questions concerning definitions of order and disorder for student teachers that we now turn.

Control the problem of 'keeping 'em quiet'

Essentially, the everyday problem of control facing the student teacher (and probably most teachers) was one of noise, specifically, pupil-initiated noise defined by the teacher as illegitimate. Disorder was most typically signified by illegitimate pupil noise. In short, the control problem was one of 'keeping 'em quiet' ¹⁶. This is not to preclude other definitions of disorder, but it is to argue noise was the most common and persistent aspect of the control problem. Taking Woods' (1979) definition of control 'successfully dealing with incidents which fracture the teacher's peace or establishing one's power in a situation which pre-empts such occurrences' (p 146), it is obvious that illegitimate pupil noise is an incident 'fracturing the teacher's peace'. However, I wish to take this further and argue that the student teacher's peace was continually and persistently fractured by illegitimate pupil noise, and this was the major coping problem confronting them. Furthermore, its very persistence and their own perceived failure to cope with it effectively meant that noise became part of the taken-for-granted, the common sense, of classroom life for student teachers.

Noise in these terms most commonly took the form of talk or chatter - a term often used by teachers to indicate illegitimate pupil talk - but it also included laughing/giggling, 'moaning' and various animal imitations, the noise children make when they cannot or will not sit still, and the noise they make moving around a classroom or

gymnasium Many of the student teachers spoke about classes or pupils who were 'boisterous' or 'lively' I have taken this as indicating noise for two reasons First, I do not really see how a child can be boisterous or lively in a classroom without making noise Second, where I asked student teachers to expand on pupils' behaviour when they described them as 'boisterous' or 'lively', reference was made to one or more of the above kinds of pupil-initiated noise None of this is to argue that these forms of noise were always defined as illegitimate by the teacher, or that student teachers were striving for silence in their classrooms Just how and when pupil-initiated noise became defined as illegitimate for a particular teacher was both complex and arbitrary

The pervasiveness of this theme - 'noise equals lack of control' - only became apparent after I began to transcribe interviews taped with individual students after the first school experience Before this, talking to students casually I received the impression that some experienced control problems and some did not, and that this seemed to correspond to whether or not the student experienced a crisis situation in the first school experience Initially I intended to examine how control problems precipitated crisis situations However, when I began to transcribe the interviews, it was noticeable that even those students who had entered honeymoon periods in fact experienced difficulties in relation to noise

Julia, for example, told me that she had a 'great' time on her first school experience and had not (unlike most of

the other students) met with control problems When I interviewed her after the school experience, she maintained she had not experienced any difficulties

MS Looking back on the four weeks, what did you find were particular difficulties, what did you find difficult about teaching?

Julia [laugh]

MS Well, if you like, tell me what you found rewarding or good about teaching

Julia I I don't know umm, there was nothing I found, maybe it sounds conceited, but there was nothing I found particularly difficult about the middle school The control worried me because I went to a school myself where the control was pretty poor and so that worried me - a lot But once I was in the school and had the authority of a teacher and could do what I wanted to do, I didn't find it difficult

Earlier in the interview, Julia told me she had been worried about teaching English as she was not an English specialist Surprisingly (to her) however, the English lessons had turned out to be quite good

Julia They [the English lessons] were quite good, not because of the material in them, I don't think They stick out most in my mind because the class was so good

MS In what way?

Julia There was no problem of control I mean, they just sat there quiet There was one boy in it and so long as you kept your eyes on him he didn't give any trouble But the class, you just had to say, 'er, this is enough', you know 'no more noise' and they'd just shut up just like that [laugh]
No trouble

This is one of the clearest statements I recorded equating control with 'keeping 'em quiet' it indicates that a class under control is a quiet class, or at least easily quietened, and a noisy class is not 'controlled' By implication, Julia's statement suggests she did experience control problems in relation to noise with other classes This was confirmed in the course of the interview

Julia They [the other classes] were noisy, a lot of talk, chat, up and down getting things

As I transcribed more interviews, the noise/control theme built up At first, however, it was just one aspect of the control problem and it did not immediately appear relevant to all the student teachers, even though several students explicitly linked control with 'keeping 'em quiet' This remained a half-formulated theme until one seminar in the third block of curriculum studies (after the second school experience) which the students spent looking, somewhat haphazardly and half-heartedly, at one another's school experience files This was the first opportunity I had encountered to look at several files together. I was particularly interested in the lesson evaluations

All the student teachers were required to evaluate every lesson they took and to keep a written record in their school experience file Inevitably, some students were more conscientious at this than others, and, since they were written in the full knowledge that they would be read and assessed by tutors, the degree of accuracy as a report of what actually went on in the classroom might in some cases be suspect.¹⁷ Reading through random sets of

lesson evaluations, one thing struck me immediately the concern with how the class and individuals within it had behaved Lessons were primarily evaluated by the student teachers in terms of pupil behaviour and its implications for classroom control This centred around a quiet/noisy dimension A particular class or a particular lesson was either quiet and therefore presented no difficulties or it was noisy and presented considerable problems for the student teacher In the latter case it was not always the whole class which was noisy but a small number of individuals - usually boys - who were 'disruptive' This is illustrated in the following extracts from lesson evaluations on the second school experience (emphasis added)

The lesson was again very quiet with the exception of the constant verbal chit chat from Sam Smith (3rd year English lesson)

Again this session was halved because of the noisy classroom I kicked out the group, lectured them and they quietened considerably, although individuals moaned throughout the lesson (4th year games lesson)

This class were noisy throughout the lesson and I had considerable difficulty stopping them jabbering and mucking around There were some very excitable boys in the class whose energy levels seem non-exhaustive (1st year drama lesson)

A difficult lesson, at times I found it necessary to shout above the class to make them quieter (1st year music lesson)

This was a new class for me I had been warned that they could be awful, noisy and disruptive I went in quiet but hard and never had a sound out of them during the whole lesson I was astonished at the peace, quiet and industry that prevailed (4th year science lesson)

A curious lesson, although I prepared a good
 stint of work it proved to be insufficient
 and I set extra problems to be done Yet
 they were noisy, inattentive and verging on
 disruption (3rd year maths lesson)

These extracts are typical of literally hundreds of
 lesson evaluations across a wide range of subjects, virtually
 all of which made explicit the salience of the noise and
 control theme

Noise	=	Disorder	=	Control problem
Quiet	=	Order	=	No control problem

From the student teacher's point of view, control problems
 concerned routine pupil-initiated noise defined as
 illegitimate Such noise was viewed as a major source of
 potential disorder and thus an important practical problem
 threatening the maintenance of classroom control Pupil-
 initiated noise was a normal and natural state of affairs
 in classrooms, quiet had to be achieved by the teacher
 Student teachers were perfectly aware of this. it is part
 of the hidden pedagogy of teaching Nonetheless achieving
 'quiet' was experienced as problematic and became a major
 pre-occupation of classroom life Dealing effectively with
 noise was the main perceived coping problem of student
 teachers Learning to cope as a phase of student teacher
 socialisation was in part a question of developing effective
 classroom coping strategies, but was also, more fundamentally,
 a coming-to-terms with the pervasiveness of illegitimate
 pupil-initiated noise and the necessity of dealing with it,
 often in the face of persistent failure to do so These

issues will be taken up more fully later in the chapter, but first it is necessary to examine when and how pupil-initiated noise became defined as illegitimate

Illegitimate pupil-initiated noise

It is important to emphasise that pupil-initiated noise was not always defined as illegitimate. Many lessons in subjects such as drama, music, physical education and languages invariably produce a considerable amount of pupil-initiated noise in the form of talk, chatter, movement and so on which is regarded as legitimate and often desired by the teacher. Other lessons in a range of subject areas also tend to generate a certain level of pupil-initiated noise in the course of normal learning activities (for example, oral or group work) - noise which is possibly central or endemic to lesson content and again required or requested by the teacher. It is pupil-initiated noise which does not clearly fit into any of these categories which is much more likely to be defined as illegitimate, but not inevitably so. In a general sense we have already seen that pupil-initiated noise was defined as illegitimate when it was perceived as threatening the maintenance of order in the classroom, but we need to ask when and how noise was perceived as a threat. Answering this question will focus attention on some of the specific constraints of classroom life for student teachers.

Student teachers were concerned about pupil-initiated noise and defined it as illegitimate when it was taken as indicating pupils could not be working, and therefore not learning. Pupil-initiated noise in certain situations was regarded as antithetical to learning and therefore became defined as illegitimate. This could apply to the whole class, or to specific groups or individuals within it.

Sara: I found it very difficult to cope with noise. I found that sort of thing in drama lessons. I began to panic once the noise level sort of rose to a certain pitch or point, and I wanted it to come down. I just didn't like it, I didn't feel secure with that, didn't feel that anything constructive was going on. It seemed to me everyone was talking but not necessarily about the subject.

Becky: One day I did think this one boy was going to thump me. I did rather go on at him, but he did need it, because he could do the work, but he just didn't bother and I used to say 'now come on Mohammed'. I think it was because he didn't like a woman telling him what to do. But he used to turn his chair round and talk to the people in the desks nearby. In the end I had to bring him to sit at my desk.¹⁸

Mike: This lesson went very badly and little work was achieved. The more able managed to struggle on with their work despite the disruption, the less able generally disrupted by walking about and chatting, laughing and generally not working. The class had to be repeatedly told the noise was too high.

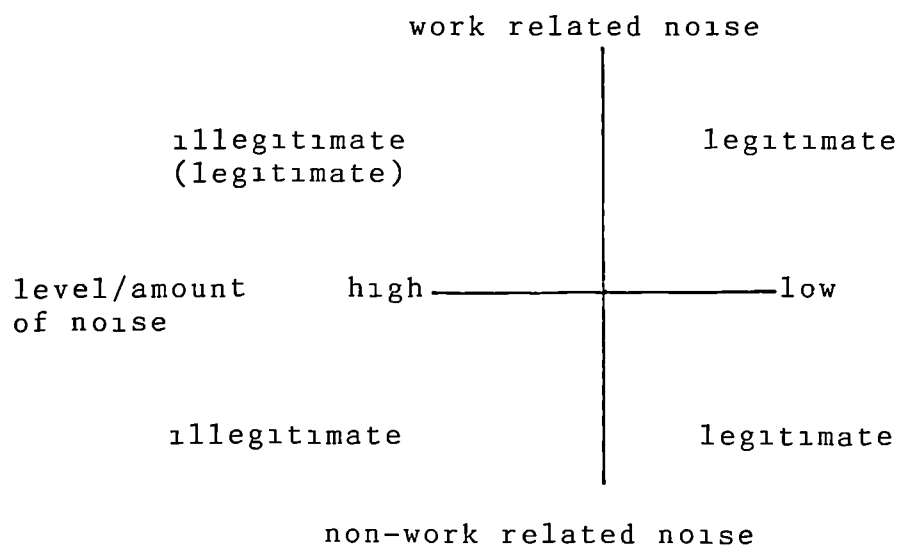
Francis I was disappointed with the level of noise that was present in the class and the amount of 'non-work' being done

It is important to be clear that in these cases noise was defined as illegitimate within a particular context set up by the teacher, a context which frequently involved a contradiction. The context was one of pupil activity - most usually individual written work, but sometimes a task which involved pupils working in pairs or in small groups. Within this context, and often as a result of an encouraged learning strategy of pupil co-operation, some pupil-initiated noise involving chatter, movement and so on was legitimate. Such noise only became defined as illegitimate if the teacher interpreted it as indicating that particular pupils were not getting on with set tasks because they were talking too much, the criterion being the amount of noise produced by some or all pupils, or if the teacher interpreted it as indicating that the whole class could not be working as well as they might because 'the noise was too high' and thus distracting, the criterion being the level of noise produced by the class as a group.

These criteria are interrelated and can only be regarded as analytically distinct. None of the student teachers whom I studied expected absolute silence, yet there were definite limits to what any one student teacher would tolerate in terms of pupil-initiated noise. Pupil-initiated noise and its legitimacy or otherwise was thus a context-specific phenomenon in the sense that what was regarded as illegitimate by one teacher in one context might

not be so regarded either by another teacher or in a different context. A third criterion implicitly underlay both level and amount of noise. Work or work-related noise was legitimate in a way that non-work-related noise was not. This was implicit in Sara's statement that 'everyone was talking, but not necessarily about the subject', and in Mike's references about chatter and laughter. The relationship between these three criteria can be represented diagrammatically as follows.

Figure 3 The relationship between level, amount and content of pupil-initiated noise



A high level or amount of noise was generally regarded as illegitimate, although in some cases work-related noise even of a high level or amount might be regarded as legitimate, for example, some drama lessons or group activities. On the other hand, a low level or amount of noise, whether work related or non-work related, was generally regarded as legitimate. What constituted a high

or a low level/amount of noise was, it must be emphasised, subjectively defined by the student teacher.

I observed several lessons in which the student teacher set up a working context where pupils were set individual tasks or problems - usually written - which they then undertook either independently or co-operatively in pairs. This was a typical working context in a range of subjects such as maths, English, and humanities. Within such contexts pupil-initiated noise was defined as illegitimate via remonstrations and instructions to quieten down. Remonstrations were related to the student's apparent perception that the amount, level or content of the noise had reached a point where it was assumed to be interfering with pupils' work. Observing such lessons, however, it became evident that defining pupil-initiated noise as illegitimate was not only context-specific, but also random and arbitrary on the part of the student teacher. While one pupil could 'get away' with chatting to his/her neighbour fairly frequently, another pupil might be remonstrated with almost immediately. Moreover, instructions and comments about noise to the whole class in some cases seemed purely a matter of routine rather than related to the actual level of noise in the classroom. This can be illustrated by examining a first year maths lesson of Julia's which I observed on her second school experience at a small rural comprehensive school.

As a large proportion of the class - of about twenty-five - had been away from some previous lessons with influenza, Julia divided the group: those who had been

present for the previous lessons she gave a worksheet, and the nine pupils who had missed lessons she summoned to the front of the class and went over work on the blackboard before setting them some examples to work through. While Julia was instructing the group at the front of the class, she appeared to be unaware of the other pupils, who were mostly engaged in completing the worksheet on their own or working with a partner. Some children were working quite intently and in silence, others chatted to one another but also appeared to be busy with the worksheet. From my position at the back of the room I was aware of two boys who spent most of their time chatting to one another and giving very little attention to the worksheet, and one girl, Stephanie, who spent most of her time avoiding work by fidgeting, sharpening pencils and chatting to her neighbour. Excluding these pupils, there seemed to be plenty of 'real work' going on in the classroom as well as some talk, much of which appeared to be work-related.

Once Julia had finished instructing the group gathered around her desk, she turned her attention to the rest of the class. Almost immediately she remonstrated with them for noise and indeed told them to 'keep the noise down' several times during the lesson - though as my fieldnotes comment 'they weren't really noisy at all'. To me the noise level was both fairly low and fairly constant, neither particularly distracting nor intrusive. Julia's remonstrations did not seem to be related to the actual level of noise in the room, but rather to her perception of it.

She periodically tried to lower the level of noise with comments such as 'you're getting noisy again ' addressed to the whole class Moreover, while Julia did not seem to notice the two boys who were chattering away to each other, Stephanie was told to 'stop talking and get on with your work' several times, and eventually Julia moved her to a desk at the front of the class on her own

It is quite possible of course, that Julia was particularly conscious of noise levels because she was being observed, not only by me but also by her professional studies tutor This may account, at least in part, for the random and frequent comments about noise But that is to imply Julia was likely to be more 'objective' about pupil initiated noise in classes where she was not being observed Unfortunately we have no way of knowing, but, given the frequent references to noise in the lesson evaluations and interviews, there is no reason to accept this as a total explanation It is much more likely that the random comments were a result of the uneasiness and insecurity referred to earlier by Sara, which were simply intensified by the presence of observers in the classroom Occupied with the small group at the front of the class, Julia was able to concentrate fully on her teaching task, which was one of instruction Once this task was completed, her consciousness returned to the whole class and with no specific teaching task to undertake immediately, her concern was with the maintenance of classroom order From Julia's perspective that order was experienced as essentially fragile, noise was the most immediate indicator of lack of

order and consequently, exacerbated Julia's feelings of insecurity. At the same time, as we have seen, pupil initiated noise is persistent. Random comments and remonstrations about noise were both a response to its persistence and the feelings of insecurity this generated. As soon as Julia's attention moved from the small group she worked with at the front of the class, she was immediately sensitive to the pupil-initiated noise and regarded it as symptomatic of a potential lack of control. Such 'symptoms' from the student teacher's point of view necessitated some reaction. The fragility of classroom order, the fundamental importance of classroom control and the persistence of pupil-initiated noise in classrooms nominally, if not actually, open to 'outsiders' was conducive to random and unsystematic reactions.

This is not, however, the whole story because the question arises as to why Julia defined one pupil's noise as illegitimate and not others. Was it simply that she noticed Stephanie and not the two boys? The insights of typing theory and labelling theory (Hargreaves, Hester and Mellor, 1975) are of relevance here and in this particular case there was evidence that Julia was already aware of a potential problem with Stephanie. Julia's school experience file contained a list of the class pupils, each accompanied by a brief comment, obviously supplied by the class teacher. Against Stephanie's name was the comment 'time waster'. Julia had thus been alerted to Stephanie's behaviour even before she had met her. Stephanie had been typed as a potentially troublesome pupil. It was very common for

student teachers to be 'warned' about particular classes and particular individuals, partly in response to their own requests for information about 'what they are like' ²⁰ Such information was seen by both students and class teacher as providing knowledge enabling the student teacher to counter potential problems of control, but it also raised the possibility that the student teacher, expecting a problem from a particular source, might tend to look for it, and consequently be less aware of problems from unexpected sources

The definition of pupil-initiated noise as illegitimate was therefore both a context-specific phenomenon and essentially a matter of subjective perception by the student teacher. It was defined as illegitimate with reference to pupils' learning or non-learning activities within particular classroom contexts specified by the teacher. Noise was a problem when it indicated that pupils were not working as the teacher expected. But the rules were not systematically applied by student teachers. Remonstrations depended upon the student teacher's subjective perceptions about level, amount and content of pupil-initiated noise emanating from particular pupils or groups during particular lesson phases as symptoms of potential threats to order. The unquestioned assumption of the necessity for relative quiet as a pre-requisite to learning, and the persistence of pupil-initiated noise, combined with the possible expectation of non-work and/or 'trouble' from some sources produced a routine and taken-for-granted concern with control of pupil-initiated noise. This might also in some instances set in motion processes of teacher

expectation and learning

Noise as an educational and social problem

In his analysis, Denscombe (1980, 1985) identifies two analytically distinct aspects of noise as an educational problem and a social problem. Noise is problematic when it interferes with the progress of lessons (its educational aspect), but also when it is taken as indicative of lack of control by others outside the classroom (its social aspect). The picture I have presented of the significance of pupil-initiated noise to student teachers also distinguishes between its educational and social aspects, however, I depart somewhat from Denscombe in my analysis of the social aspect. While Denscombe concentrates on how noise may constitute a problem because it is taken by those outside the classroom as indicative of lack of control, I have emphasised the problematic nature of noise as symptomatic of a potential threat to control by those inside the classroom. It was not so much a fear that pupil-initiated noise would be 'easily interpreted as the end-product of poor classroom control' (Denscombe, 1985, p 154) as that it alerted student teachers to potential challenges to classroom order. Quite simply, noise heightened the awareness of, and alerted the teacher to, the essential fragility of classroom order. Noise warranted attention because, left unchecked, it might escalate into a more overt and serious breakdown in control. For the student teachers I studied, 'keeping 'em quiet' was a major pre-occupation because of its symptomatic

significance for those inside the classroom rather than with reference to colleagues outside the classroom

This raises questions about the relationship between the educational and social aspects of the problem of noise Denscombe argues that for some teachers, particularly those of a low achievement orientation, 'keeping 'em quiet' to maintain the appearance of control - and thus competence as a teacher - becomes more important than 'keeping 'em quiet' for educational reasons This relates to Woods' (1979) argument that for some established teachers, 'survival' may take the place of teaching However, I have already argued 'survival' in Woods' sense is, for student teachers, not enough By implication, this means the educational aspect of noise would, of necessity, be of central concern to student teachers However, it was the case that different classes, groups of pupils, and even different lessons and lesson phases presented more or less of a potential problem - both educationally and socially - than others These issues are now taken up by comparing the following description of a fourth form history lesson taken by Jill with the earlier description of Julia's maths lesson

An intending history specialist, Jill spent her second school experience at a large county comprehensive school situated in open playing fields at the edge of a small town The school had a large catchment area from the surrounding villages and thus had pupils from a wide variety of socio-economic backgrounds

On arriving at the school Paul Brown and I went to the staffroom to meet Jill. Paul greeted Jill by making a joke about coming to see how awful she was. Jill was temporarily flustered and made advance apologies for her lesson warning us that it might be chaotic, since the group had been 'awful yesterday'. She explained that she intended to play a tape on Christopher Columbus but, 'I don't know if they will be able to sit still long enough to listen: it's a long tape and the children are remedial'. There were however only twelve pupils in the class. The classroom was a battered, bare, stark room with old-fashioned filed-down desks and a few history posters on walls much in need of redecoration. The children waited outside the classroom until Jill was ready to admit them - she told them to come in and when they all rushed forward said 'careful, ladies first; quietly now'. The children came in noisily, swinging bags, talking and dragging out chairs from desks. Getting them all seated and relatively settled took several minutes as latecomers were urged to 'sit down quietly' and the whole class was 'ssshed' at several times. Once relatively settled Jill began by recapping on the previous lesson, getting pupils to remember basic factual points about voyages of discovery at the time of Columbus. This was a short question and answer session lasting about five minutes. Throughout this phase of the lesson and later phases, there was noise from the pupils. The boys particularly were extremely fidgety, in banging books, bags and desk lids. A group of four boys constantly distracted each other; grinning, whispering and prodding one another. However the class was not 'out of

control' they were noisy but enthusiastic, much of the noise stemmed from responses to Jill's questions

Although it was evident all the class was not fully concentrating, they did seem interested (some of them very interested) and, as Paul Brown later wrote in his lesson criticism, ninety-five per cent of the talk was about the topic. One boy in particular seemed very enthusiastic and put up his hand with loud calls of 'Miss, Miss' in response to every question and initiated questions about the topic himself. The general enthusiasm for answering questions shouting out and waving hands about, plus an inability to sit still generated a considerable level of noise which Jill was constantly endeavouring to quieten. The question and answer session was conducted over and around this pupil-initiated noise and Jill spent as much time regaining pupils' attention as she did in asking questions.

Jill explained that she wanted the class to listen to a tape about Columbus 'so you must sit still and keep quiet while it's playing'. The tape began, she told them, with a song about Columbus' ships 'which I shall make you lot (the four 'fidgety' boys) sing if you aren't quiet'. Several times while the tape was playing Jill moved over towards this group of boys, and smiled at them, tapped one on the shoulder, or said, 'come on now' in an attempt to keep them concentrating. Despite the general fidgeting most of the children did seem to be listening to the tape, several of them asked questions about the content while it was playing and they all urged Jill not to wind on the tape when she suggested it on the grounds that it was boring.

When the tape was finished Jill gave out some fact sheets, asked a few recall questions and then set the class the task of writing a story about Columbus' voyage. The rest of the lesson was taken up with this activity.

Although there was certainly no atmosphere of 'quiet studiousness' and the writing of the stories went on against a continuous background of pupil-initiated noise, the group was working and did seem to be involved in their task. This was apparent from the numerous questions asked and the quite lengthy stories they managed to produce. When the bell went to signal the end of lesson, the pupils immediately started packing up and the noise level increased significantly as a result. Despite Jill's attempts to get them to leave more quietly by dismissing the girls before the boys, they left amid considerable chatter.

Even though the number of pupils in Jill's class was only half that of Julia's, it was to my ear significantly noisier. Not only was the amount of pupil-initiated noise much greater, particularly in terms of pupil talk and movement, but the level of noise produced by this group of twelve was also relatively higher. However, the lesson was by no means a disaster in terms of control, indeed, considering Jill's own expectations it was a success. These pupils were, on the whole, 'inherently noisy' - they could not sit still, fidgeting and distracting one another seemed normal to them. There was also a noticeable gender dimension to the generation of pupil-initiated noise. Some of the boys in particular were unable to keep still or quiet and Jill seemed to recognise this in directing her

remonstrations Furthermore, Jill herself promoted this gender division in her routine for pupils entering and leaving the classroom

Jill not only tried to get the pupils to enter and leave the classroom in a quiet and ordered way, she was constantly concerned with the control of noise throughout the lesson Much of the noise however, was generated as part of a general enthusiasm for asking and answering questions about Columbus and the voyages of discovery and this was inseparable and indistinguishable from the more general noise of chatter and movement Nonetheless, the noise was periodically defined by Jill as illegitimate Even though she did not expect absolute quiet and concentration, the persistent nature of the pupil-initiated noise did constitute an educational problem as much as a social problem for Jill Most of her explicit attempts to quieten the class as a whole or to gather the attention of individuals, came in the early phases of the lesson where the desired pupil behaviour was to listen and respond appropriately or simply to listen The pupil-initiated noise interfered with the smooth running of the lesson and thus with Jill's task as a teacher However as Denscombe (1985) points out, pupils who are noisy alert the teacher to activity which warrants attention, not only because they interfere with the establishment of a learning context, but also because they pose immediate threats to the appearance of control in the classroom Pupil-initiated noise, even as a product of enthusiasm and interest and work-related cannot be ignored The result is the routine and random

defining of pupil-initiated noise as illegitimate

The educational and social implications of pupil-initiated noise were thus inter-connected and stood in complex relationship to student teachers' perceptions of amount, level and content of such noise. Clearly, the nature of the pupils and expectations regarding specific pupils in particular lesson phases and contexts presented teachers with varied problems in both educational and social terms. This reminds us that the social problem of noise is not uni-dimensional and we now consider how for student teachers the problem of noise had its own specific social aspect.

For some of the student teachers, the presence - either personally or symbolically - of an authoritative significant other (most obviously school staff or college tutors) operated as a powerful external constraint on the social context of the lesson. Symbolically this affected all the student teachers because the equation

$$\text{noise} = \text{control problem}$$

is part of the hidden pedagogy of teaching and operates as a strong defining force in the classroom situation. But over and above this, the actual and/or potential presence of a tutor or school teacher could also be significant to an understanding of the way in which pupil-initiated noise became defined as illegitimate.

Pupil-initiated noise was a relative rather than an absolute problem for student teachers. Complete silence was not normally demanded of pupils by college tutors, school staff or by student teachers. However, this did

become a requirement on certain occasions Rose explained the situation when her maths tutor visited her in school

Rose The tutors seem exceptionally bothered about noise, whereas the teachers were saying. 'It doesn't matter so long as it's a working atmosphere ', but, like our maths tutor, she prefers everyone to be in complete silence which is a bit awkward uhh I don't know, I had this one lesson and it was quite a quiet class and they hardly made any noise, and the tutor sort of said at the end, 'Ooh, you know, you really have to keep down on this class, you really have to' - and they were a real good class - I don't know where she got that from

MS So in effect when she came in did you find that you had to get them working in a different way?

Rose Yeah you're conscious of it in a way, you think, well you don't really want them to be I don't know really - like in maths, I was conscious, in maths I was really conscious and they were rebelling against me I kept trying to shut them up and they kept talking even more [laugh]

MS Was this all the time, even when the tutor wasn't coming in?

Rose Oh no, no I'm just saying when the tutor was in I was really conscious of the noise ²¹

For Rose a certain amount or level of pupil-initiated noise was accepted as legitimate, for her maths tutor it was not. Given the unequal relationship between Rose as student and her maths tutor as assessor, the latter's definition of permissible pupil-initiated noise had to be taken into account, even though Rose herself did not find it acceptable Rose

accommodated - through strategic compliance (Lacey, 1977) - her tutor's definition by making efforts to reduce the level of noise when her maths tutor was present. In effect, this meant that in those few lessons where the maths tutor was present, Rose defined pupil-initiated noise as illegitimate while in other lessons she regarded it as acceptable. Moreover, she found herself particularly sensitive to noise at these times, which correspondingly had the effect of heightening her awareness of the fragility of classroom order. As a result, conflict with the class emerged. Other students who had this maths tutor also commented on her concern with noise and felt constrained to achieve a greater degree of quiet when she was present.

Although this tutor was singled out by some student teachers, as being excessively concerned about noise, other tutors also communicated their expectations about the legitimacy or otherwise of pupil-initiated noise. This was done through lesson criticisms and in seminars. For example, tutors constantly made the point that students should, indeed must, insist on quiet when talking - pupil-initiated noise was clearly illegitimate within such lesson contexts. Here again, the social and the educational aspects of the problem of noise became merged. However from the student teacher's perspective it was the social significance of the noise which was important.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to highlight an essential aspect of the survival problem confronting student teachers on school experience. I have shown that for the student teacher survival was primarily focused on learning to cope in the classroom context. The salience of the hidden pedagogy of teaching meant that learning to cope was defined fundamentally in terms of classroom control as a pre-requisite to the activity of teaching. Presented with an ideology of control by the professional studies course in college which was lacking as a basis for the development of effective coping strategies, classroom control faced the new student teacher with their most persistent coping problems.

This has been well documented by other studies of both student and probationary teachers (see Hanson and Herrington, 1976, Hannam et al , 1976), but few researchers have gone beyond this to analyse the nature of the control problem confronting teachers, let alone the specific problems of student teachers. On the evidence presented in this chapter, it was seen that the main, everyday, routine and persistent classroom coping problem for student teachers was one of regulating pupil noise. Noise defined by the teacher as illegitimate was regarded as an indicator of a potential breakdown in classroom order and thus a lack of control on the student teacher's part. Nonetheless, pupil-initiated noise was found to be a real and routine fact of classroom life, the background against which teaching must take place. Real pupils in real classroom chatter, giggle,

shout, fidget and move about to varying degrees, but somehow the teacher must maintain relative quiet. The problem of illegitimate pupil-initiated noise was however, context specific and, importantly, subjectively defined by the teacher. Student teachers could be and were inconsistent in their implementation of rules regarding pupil-initiated noise with regard to different lessons, classes and pupils, but at the same time objective differences in the nature and extent of the problem of noise also operated to structure their ability to cope in the classroom. The problem of noise is multi-faceted in both its educational and social aspects, and this produces a considerable variation of coping contexts for all teachers.

The analysis of pupil-initiated noise presented here strongly points to the fact that student teachers and pupils enter the classroom with very different interests and of necessity need to work towards the negotiation of tacit understandings which enable the student teacher to establish the prevailing rule frames (Pollard, 1985a). This is the business of initial encounters which are the focus of the next chapter. Chapters 5 and 6 are thus closely related as the latter presents an analysis of the problematic nature of the process of establishment for student teachers (as significantly different to that of experienced teachers) in relation to a coming to terms with the pervasiveness of pupil-initiated noise. It is within such a context that the student teacher's own perspective is developing, especially as regards the hidden pedagogy of teaching.

Notes

- 1 See, for example, the work of Woods (1979, 1980a & b, 1981), Hargreaves (1978, 1979, 1980), Pollard (1980, 1982, 1983) and Beynon (1985)
- 2 Two papers which do refer to research on student as well as established teachers are Ball (1980) and Mardle and Walker (1980)
- 3 See, for example, Denscombe (1980), Bennett et al (1980) and Stebbins (1970)
- 4 Haydon Park College Professional Studies Course Booklet
- 5 In practice, more time is devoted to discussion of these issues, since it is brought up in many seminars by either staff or students
- 6 Extract from fieldnotes
- 7 Interview extract
- 8 Extract from fieldnotes
- 9 'Fraternisation' is a term borrowed from Woods (1979) denoting one of eight survival strategies he distinguishes. The meaning of fraternisation is encapsulated in the adage 'If you can't beat them, join them'. The aim is to strive for good relations with pupils, with a view to minimising potential conflict and developing a sense of obligation in pupils
- 10 Extracts from fieldnotes
- 11 Extract from fieldnotes
- 12 Here the term 'coping strategy' is used in a restricted sense to indicate ways of successfully dealing with problems once they arise as distinct from strategies like class management and fraternisation which are more preventative and anticipatory of potential problems
- 13 Interview extracts
- 14 See DES (1982), Preece (1979), Hanson and Herrington (1976)
- 15 Denscombe (1985) is the recent and notable exception

- 16 This is a phrase used by Denscombe (1980) as the title of a paper on the significance of noise for teaching
- 17 For example the student who eventually failed the course, partly because, according to the professional studies tutors, there were severe control problems, had numerous lessons with 'no discipline problems'
- 18 Interview extracts
- 19 From student lesson evaluations
- 20 This has implications for the debates about the process of typification See, for example, Hargreaves (1977), Hargreaves, Hestor and Mellor (1975), Burgess (1983)
- 21 Interview extract

CHAPTER 6

LEARNING TO COPE NEGOTIATING INITIAL ENCOUNTERS

In recent years researchers have taken a particular interest in initial encounters between teachers and pupils in a wide range of school contexts ¹ Such research takes as its focus the ways in which teachers and pupils seek to 'render the new and unknown orderly, predictable and familiar' (Beynon, 1985, p 4) Most studies regard initial encounters as 'problematic definitional situations par excellence' (Ball, 1980) As Waller (1932) pointed out, when a teacher faces a new class 'he faces an undefined situation and it is his job to impose his definition quickly' It is for this reason that researchers have found it profitable to study initial encounters, this is the time when the taken-for-granted rules and procedures of schooling are most visible

Ball (1980) has argued that initial encounters are pessimistic social situations for teachers, necessitating deliberate, self-conscious performance in the establishment of a sense of community Teachers recognise that initial encounters are of vital significance in delineating the boundaries of legitimate behaviour This cannot be assumed, the teacher has to engage in an active process of defining the situation A number of studies in infant, middle and secondary schools have focused on how teachers are concerned with 'grooving' (Smith and Geoffrey, 1968) pupils into roles and activity structures by a process of rule inculcation

Initial encounters are seen as periods of intense and reflexive interaction leading to the negotiation of a working consensus between teacher and pupils

Given both teachers' and researchers' recognition of the importance of initial encounters in structuring classroom life, it is perhaps surprising that few studies have focused on the initial encounters of student as opposed to established teachers. From the teacher perspective these are emphatically 'definitional situations par excellence' because the student teacher has no past experience of establishing relationships with pupils on which to draw they are truly initial encounters

One of the reasons for this comparative neglect is the ethical problems involved in studying initial encounters. Reluctance to be observed at this time by established teachers has been noted by Hargreaves et al (1975), Ball (1980), Beynon (1985) and Wragg (1984). These encounters are 'high risk' occasions for all teachers, not just student teachers, as they set about establishing their identity and authority with large numbers of potentially troublesome pupils. Nonetheless, established teachers have a number of resources to draw upon which the student teacher does not possess. These include experience, familiarity with context, a personal and institutional repertoire of strategies which have been proven in the past and, usually, an established substantive teacher identity. Although these resources are not inevitably available to established teachers - the probationary teacher and the Scale 3 teacher will be drawing upon qualitatively and quantitatively

different resources in these terms - they are not normally available to student teachers. For this reason alone initial encounters must be regarded as particularly vital occasions in student teachers' careers.

Most analyses of initial encounters characterise them as involving negotiative processes where teacher and pupil definitions of the situation are accepted, modified, rejected and adapted. This characterisation carries with it the assumption of working towards a shared understanding of classroom order and the stabilisation of a working consensus. This framework is somewhat misleading in developing an understanding of the initial encounters of student teachers on school experience. There are two reasons for this. First it fails to locate the classroom interaction within a wider structural context of relationships and normative influences. In viewing the process of establishment as one of negotiation between teacher and pupil, the important structuring influence of historical and normative influences is ignored. This is particularly important when we consider that student teachers on school experience essentially 'take over' for a short period the teaching of classes which have been, and will be again, the responsibility of an established member of the school staff. Second, given the context of teaching encounters on school experience, the achievement of a stable working consensus via a process of establishment is not something ordinarily achieved by student teachers. For many of the students I studied, the process of establishment was never completed. The struggle to 'keep 'em quiet' and maintain classroom

order was the persistent reality of classroom life, against which teaching had to take place. In this context teaching came to be regarded as something of a 'battle', persistently based on conflict rather than consensus. It is for these reasons that the initial encounters of student teachers deserve specific attention. This chapter goes some way towards providing an analysis of the nature of the process of establishment for student teachers and its consequences for their perceptions of teaching.

A 'false situation'?

For some student teachers, imposing their definition of the situation, against alternative pupil definitions, was not problematic. For all student teachers, school experience is fundamentally about taking over temporarily the class(es) or lesson(s) of an established teacher, usually part way into a school term and under the explicit supervision of that teacher. The teacher-pupil relationship developed by the teacher and the working consensus (or lack of it) achieved must be regarded as shaping the initial encounters of student teachers. This provides a cultural and normative context which structures the student teacher's initial encounters with the class. In some circumstances, this structuring of the classroom context may be so strong that the student teacher struggles, not against the definitions and interests of the pupils but against those of the class teacher. This seemed to be the situation for Derek on his first school experience.

Gerald Lewis, Derek's professional studies tutor and I visited him in school on the third Friday of the school experience. The school, situated in the middle of a new large private housing estate of executive semi and detached houses was described by Gerald Lewis as 'a very good school'. Its catchment area was mostly the affluent middle class housing estate, and it was a spacious, bright and well-equipped school. Friday morning, first lesson, Derek was to take gymnastics with a mixed class of thirty-four middle school second years in the large school hall which doubled as a gymnasium. Gerald Lewis, the class teacher and I sat at the back of the hall to observe the lesson. The class teacher explained to Gerald Lewis and myself that Derek intended to work with the small apparatus. The previous week he had used the large apparatus but the lesson had not gone well because the children had 'played' rather than worked. As a result, the intention now was 'to go back a step by getting them to work with benches and mats'.

Once all the children were out of the changing rooms and sitting quietly on the floor, Derek outlined the activities for the lesson and started them off on the first activity of running around the gym, jumping in the air and making shapes in flight. Derek twice stopped the class while doing this and said that although he saw some good shapes developing, he could hear the slap of flat feet. The class teacher said Derek seemed exceptionally nervous and indeed his voice did sound rather strained.² After approximately five minutes of running and jumping Derek told

the class to 'stop and rest' He then asked them to divide into groups of five The children quickly formed groups with those nearest them and Derek instructed them to 'sit quietly on the floor' Each group in turn was then asked to get out a bench and two mats This process of getting out the apparatus was very ordered and took some considerable time Derek twice told groups who were awaiting their turn or who had finished setting out benches and mats to 'sit beside the apparatus, not on the mats and wait quietly while everyone else finishes' The children did 'wait quietly', a few whispered now and again but most sat waiting expectantly Once all the apparatus was set out, Derek explained to the class that he wanted them to think of different ways of using it in flight - running, jumping, leaping, somersaulting, and so on Each pupil was to take it in turns to use the apparatus as imaginatively as possible in this way The pupils entered into this activity willingly and with varying degrees of skill Some were talented gymnasts while others simply ran along or jumped on and off the benches Derek moved around the gym observing the different groups and occasionally speaking to one or two of the pupils After a few minutes he stopped the class, told them to sit quietly near their apparatus and then asked one girl to demonstrate her movements This was done several times in the lesson, each time a different pupil being asked to demonstrate and Derek offered praise while the rest of the class watched Towards the end of the lesson Derek asked each group to demonstrate their movements in turn Ending the activities Derek praised the class for their good work and asked them

to put away the apparatus 'quietly and sensibly' Each group proceeded to do this in turn Detailed instructions from Derek were unnecessary since it was evident from the ordered way this process took place that the pupils knew the routines and procedures for putting away apparatus

Gerald Lewis and the class teacher both agreed that the lesson had gone well in their terms the children had behaved and worked hard Gerald Lewis said this was partly because they enjoyed P E , and were motivated and 'well trained' 'you have to ask yourself whether they would do this with anyone in there, and then ask what extra the teacher does - you rather suspect they would do the same with anyone, and yet that extra the teacher provides is indefinable, but it has to be there' The lesson had been successful, but how far was this due to Derek as teacher?

Although it is possible the class were particularly quiet and well-behaved because of the presence of three observers, they did seem, as Gerald Lewis said, 'well trained' The class teacher indicated this was in fact what she had set out to do There had, at first, been a minor misunderstanding between Derek and the class, because when she told the class to 'stop' she meant them to stand exactly as they were, and she used the word 'rest' when they could relax There had initially been confusion because Derek had not used these words in the same way The regimented way in which the apparatus was set out and put away indicated that the class had been taught, almost drilled, to respond to precise instructions The class was quiet, because of their effective socialisation by the class teacher The process of establishment was, as a result,

relatively unproblematic for Derek - he was entering a classroom context where the rules were already stabilised. It was unnecessary to negotiate the establishment of his own rules and procedures, because the class teacher ensured that her very strong rule frames continued to structure the lessons.

This was not however entirely to Derek's advantage as was evident from his tutor's and his own definition of the situation. For Gerald Lewis, Derek was still expected, despite working within a strong predefined rule frame, to engage in an assertive process of establishment. This was not a question of establishing the appearance of control, Derek had that without working for it, it was more a matter of imposing his own definition of the situation over and above that of the class teacher. Equally, Derek himself implied that the situation he found in the school with its well socialised pupils and strong rule frames was not typical of the real world of teaching. He told me that the school and the pupils were 'so nice, it's a bit of a false situation really' and he expected considerably more problems on the next school experience in a secondary school.

This analysis of Derek's lesson suggests that attempts to conceptualise initial encounters in terms of a process of establishment in which teachers and pupils mutually negotiate to secure their definition of the situation are inadequate for understanding the initial encounters of student teachers. The significance of external constraints on the situation and the source of meanings and interpretations which constitute the 'definition of the situation'

need to be fully explored. In particular, such conceptualisations fail to take into account the specific constraints of the classroom context for student teachers. Derek's lesson illustrates this well. To a large extent, the classroom context had been predefined by the class teacher and, even when she was not physically present at lessons, there was the distinct probability that she rather than Derek was providing the framework for classroom order. This is not to portray Derek as a passive participator in the situation or to say the process of establishment did not take place, but it is to draw attention to the significance of external constraints and normative influences in structuring the classroom encounters of student teachers. When Derek said he thought 'it was a bit of a false situation', this is essentially what he meant: the situation was predefined, he did not have to impose his definition of the situation in order to secure control, he merely slotted into the framework provided. However, not all student teachers were able to step into classrooms with such strong pre-established rule frames.

The disciplinary illusion

Research on the initial encounters of established teachers regards them as consisting of two distinct and crucial phases. A first phase in which pupils are quiet, unsure and passive - 'easy' from the teacher's point of view in relation to control. Hargreaves *et al* (1975) term this a period of 'disciplinary illusion'. This is

followed by a phase of 'sussing' where pupils test out the teacher and engage in a negotiative process to secure interests. Inevitably, this second phase is accompanied by a significant rise in the amount of pupil-initiated noise. Beynon (1985) has warned against regarding such phases as discrete and sequential. He points out that the phases are 'scrambled and taken up at varying speeds by individuals and groups in different classrooms' (p 37). Nonetheless, for a number of student teachers the very first encounters with classroom life were often seen in retrospect as inherently misleading.

Rachel, describing her first day in a middle school was made very much aware of the disciplinary illusion

MS Can you remember back to the first lesson, what was that like?

Rachel It was super, I couldn't believe it. I felt very, very nervous and apprehensive, but when I actually went in, they were so quiet. I think this is the danger in this is, I went into my first lesson and they were so well-behaved, and they were so quiet and so attentive that I thought all my lessons were going to be like that. But it's because you're a stranger you see, somebody new and they don't know what you're going to be like, and obviously - I wouldn't say always but quite often, they're going to be on their best behaviour to begin with because they want to make a good impression on you - but I made the mistake of thinking, coming out of the lesson, that maybe all my lessons would be like that, and they weren't at all - and after that first lesson they were never the same again.

MS So you came out of that first lesson feeling really confident?

Rachel Oh yes Yes Thinking this is the job for me

MS. How did that change over the four weeks then?

Rachel It changed drastically I mean from the first lesson, I had these children for English and humanities In the second lesson they were much more lively and this was a shock to me, because having had them for the first lesson when they were so quiet, attentive and so well-behaved, and I expected them to be the same again and they weren't And they gradually got worse over the four week period I mean I wouldn't say that they were particularly disruptive because they weren't I suppose they were reacting just as they would normally, it was just that very first lesson and it did change, but I suppose they just became their normal selves³

For Rachel, the unproblematic initial teaching encounter was a positive boost for her teacher identity and set up expectations about future teaching encounters This was, however, essentially temporary The well behaved, quiet attentiveness of the pupils in the first lesson disappeared never to return The reality of noisy, lively, cheeky and boisterous pupils asserted itself from the second lesson It was this reality as a centrally normal feature of classroom life which Rachel recognised she had to learn to cope with

Julia, who maintained she experienced no control problems on her first school experience, nevertheless was conscious from the first lesson that controlling pupil-initiated noise was a necessity of classroom life Like Rachel, her first encounter with a class was misleading

MS Can you tell me about your first lesson, what was that like?

Julia It was a Maths lesson. Actually it was it was a bit of a false situation because as I said, they were set and I only had 11 pupils. umm they were the bottom group and so I knew I could cope with them, so I didn't have any worries about whether I'd have enough material because they worked from cards. They worked at their own pace and all I had to do if they had a problem they bring it up to me and I'd put it right, if they finished a card, they'd bring it up to me and I'd mark it. So that's all I had to do - and keep them quiet.

MS So that lesson passed OK?

Julia The teacher walked out, she let me do the register and then left me with the class and I really appreciated it, cause I could start off say 'right sit down and shut up' - you know 'this is me' or something. They didn't know how to react to me either so they were quiet as well. it was only in the second and third weeks they started to get a bit boisterous.⁴

Julia regarded this first lesson as relatively undemanding organisationally and intellectually. She saw her task as one of monitoring and correcting individual pupils' work and ensuring classroom order, that is, controlling illegitimate pupil noise. She felt able to establish herself firmly once the class teacher had left the classroom. Maintaining order was 'easy', but as Julia pointed out - it was essentially 'a false situation' because later classroom encounters with this group were more problematic in terms of pupil-initiated noise and control.

'Reality' with a particular class of pupils did not always wait until after the first encounter to assert itself. Sara found her first lesson of the school experience, a maths lesson, went 'smoothly', but then it was 'a nice group'. Later that same day she had a class of eleven year olds for the first time and she discovered the essential feature of the reality of classroom life.

Sara The very first lesson was fine, funnily enough it went fairly smoothly but they were a nice group I think had they been uhh that day I had an English lesson as well, last lesson and it was awful, it was absolutely I just couldn't keep them quiet ⁵

For Sarah, the groups she took at the start and at the end of the first day provided very different initial encounters. There was no disciplinary illusion with the second group. In contrast to Julia, who took advantage of the insecurity engendered in the pupils by a new teacher, Sara was immediately forced to defend her authority against the apparently subversive interests of the class. She was abruptly precipitated into the struggle to accomplish classroom order.

Initial encounters are pre-eminently interactive occasions and different classes of pupils as well as individual pupils are more or less ready to play safe or to begin 'experimenting' in order to 'suss out' the new teacher (Woods, 1981). The first encounter with a class could be extremely important in setting the context for future class encounters and in laying out initial typifications, expectations and possible strategies for coping but, equally it could be misleading. The necessity of having to engage in an active

and negotiative process of establishment in order to accomplish classroom control came for some after the disciplinary illusion

The teaching 'battle'

The process of establishment is a distinct phase in classroom interaction lasting several weeks until the teacher has successfully defined the situation and by implication is in control (Ball, 1980). For the teacher, early encounters are precarious because the rules and procedures governing interaction are not established, leading to initial encounters being particularly concerned with rule-inculcation. Teacher competence depends upon the establishment and maintenance of implicit rules concerning talk, time, movement, pupil-teacher and pupil-pupil relationships (Hargreaves et al , 1975). Through interaction, events and incidents during the period of establishment, 'a negotiated system of behavioural understandings for the various types of situations which routinely occur in the classroom' emerges (Pollard, 1985a, p 160). The result is a situation of stable classroom relationships and the 'normal and natural' establishment of a working consensus. Classroom competence depends to a considerable extent on the teacher successfully negotiating the process of establishment, although of course some teachers never make it.

In understanding the problems faced by student teachers on school experience, it is vital to realise that, being in schools for only four or six weeks at a time, many never

really get through this initial phase of classroom interaction. Moreover, limited contact time with particular classes - perhaps just one or two lessons a week - makes the possibility of negotiating a working consensus relatively remote. Lacking experience and expertise in strategies of establishment is also likely to make this period more problematic for student teachers. This means student teachers on school experience are essentially struggling, under pressures of time and external assessment and without tactical or technical resources, with the process of establishment. The feasibility of negotiating a stable, working consensus is, given this context, questionable. Student teachers are much more likely to be locked into the second phase of the process of establishment where the teacher endeavours to impose his/her definition of the situation and secure his/her interests while pupils continue to test and 'suss out' the new teacher. In these terms, 'coping' for student teachers on school experience is primarily a matter of negotiating the process of establishment, of beginning to learn effective techniques of establishment by experimentation, modification, adaptation and rejection. 'Coping' also involves however, a coming to terms with one's failure to fully and securely establish a working consensus. It is within this framework that we must locate student teachers' own perspectives on teaching.

After a few days in school two facts of classroom life stood out: the pervasiveness of pupil-initiated noise and the necessity of controlling it. Since classroom order was fundamental to teacher competence, pupil-initiated noise could not be ignored. It was a fact of classroom life, but

not an acceptable one The very persistence of pupil-initiated noise necessitated routine attempts at control, attempts only partially successful at best, which as a consequence gave rise to frustrations expressed in the phrase repeated in numerous lesson evaluations and interviews 'I just couldn't keep them quiet' Such fundamental aspects of classroom life, once experienced, had a significant impact on the student teachers' teacher perspective In short, teaching began to be perceived as something of a 'battle'

In order to examine both the pervasiveness of pupil-initiated noise, student teachers' routine but relatively unsuccessful attempts to control it, and the effect this had on student teachers' teacher perspectives, we will focus on two sets of extracts from lesson evaluations These extracts chart the process of establishment as experienced by two student teachers - Mike and Fay - with two classes on their second school experience In each case the lesson evaluations have been edited to exclude detailed reference to subject content and resource organisation What is immediately striking about the extracts is the extent to which the lessons are assessed in terms of control and noise

The first set of extracts follow Mike's lessons with 4X, a group of twenty-seven fourth form pupils he took three times a week for maths

Lesson 1

The overall impression of the lesson was of a lesson with little flow The children were not particularly well-behaved due to an inadequate explanation of the concept of translation () The more able children got on regardless of my explanation, the less able took the excuse of being confused to stop work and cause minor disruptions

Lesson 2

This lesson went very badly and little work was achieved. The more able managed to struggle on with their work despite the disruption, the less able generally disrupted by walking about and chatting, laughing and generally not working (). There was very little control of the class even tho' I said that they could only talk when I wasn't - it would have been better to have maintained the silence that prevailed yesterday () (I must) stop the walking about and idle chatter - this was very common today as I had to spend so much time re-explaining things I was supposed to have explained on the board.

Lesson 3

This lesson was very productive with most pupils grasping the basic concept of reflection () the end of the lesson passed without chaos - a minor achievement. Management and control was greatly aided by the amount of work set at the beginning so everybody had something to do. Level of pupil participation high.

Lesson 4

The class had to be repeatedly told that the noise was too high and perhaps a lack of understanding could be the cause of this (). A more understanding attitude may help the relationship with this group and I must be certain not to antagonise individuals.

Lesson 5

This lesson was not an enjoyable one as I again seemed to lose composure and so control of the class (). Class management and control - very poor. I must be able to control my temper if I am to control the disruptive element of my group. Shouting and telling everybody to shut up is absolutely pointless as it does not isolate the individuals concerned and also punishes those people who were chattering about their work. Note the way the group quietens after isolating individuals for chattering - THIS IS THE BEST APPROACH.

At this point Mike seemed to have been quite concerned about his relationship with the class and when his tutor visited him next, he asked for advice. The following is the relevant extract from the tutor's lesson criticism.

I note your difficulties with 4X and from what you say it appears you got off to a poor start with them. I think you plan to isolate the trouble-makers for attention rather than condemn the whole class. That sounds a good idea - remember - identify, name what they should be doing, how long they have to do it in - emphasise what should be happening more than what should not be.

Mike's next lesson (6) with 4X seemed to be much better. He said in his lesson evaluation that the 'class management control method' seemed to have been successful, he had adopted a strategy of quietening the class by waiting and naming individuals. This seemed successful in establishing a degree of order. However, after half-term and a week of school examinations, the problems of control re-emerged in the fourth week of the school experience.

Lesson 7

This lesson began badly as far as the children were concerned as I waited for quiet for 5 minutes and so added the time on at the end of the lesson. Organisation was good with pre-prepared board helping class management as I did not have my back to the class. () Naming specific pupils kept the noise down but unless I was at the front the noise tended to increase. I must clamp down on eating within the class and not accept 'I have just swallowed it'. Taking the bin may resolve this.

Lesson 8

It somehow seems this lesson is doomed to fail every time I take it. There must be something about Wednesday! I had a great many problems with control/discipline - caused by inattention, not enough work, idle chatter of an extreme nature. John P. returned and I wanted him to copy down what I put on the board and then see me to explain the work. This was designed to give him something to do whilst I taught the rest of the group, then I could deal with him. This proved unsuccessful as John, despite various warnings did not manage to copy what I had put on the board in an hour. He talked constantly as did a few others whilst I was explaining and I waited for silence 3 times - this worked - threatened keeping them at the end, then carried out this threat when I had to stop for the 4th time. () I shall try an individual approach tomorrow, trying to segregate and deal with problems - call pupils out to the front. I shall try a lesson without class teaching to stop the

chat at the beginning I am distressed with the way this group is relating to the work and myself and I feel this is a bad reflection on my teaching

Lesson 9

The class were a lot quieter today and appeared to work quite well, I managed to see the majority of the class and individual tuition worked better than the class teaching as I was able to observe the class and keep them quiet

Lesson 10

This lesson proceeded very well - there was a little noise but I feel this group benefit from this and object strongly to working in silence () Class management - no problems and no class lesson is necessary on Wednesday which will aid control

Lesson 11

This lesson - normally my worst of the week - passed off without incident Agreed there was a very slow start with moaning about comments but I dismissed these with a diagram to copy on the board I feel that with this lesson, if the class does not riot and actually do some work in their books - this must be a successful lesson

Mike evidently experienced the process of establishment with 4X as problematic The problem centred on his ability to control the disruptive behaviour of a few pupils and to keep the general level of pupil-initiated noise down. This he regarded as a precondition to the production of pupil work At first, Mike attempted to impose a general rule of silence while pupils were required to work individually on maths problems This proved impossible to achieve and Mike looked first to his own competence in managing the learning activities for a solution He 'blamed' the lack of control on his 'inadequate' explanation which he perceived as confusing the less able and giving them an excuse to engage in noisy and disruptive behaviour By the second week Mike realised his relationship with the whole class was very strained and attempts to impose his definition of quiet by a strategy of

authoritarian rule-inculcation were not proving successful. At this point the process of establishment became a battle of interests and definitions. After seeking advice from his tutor, Mike experimented with a different strategy which was apparently successful in 'keeping the noise down'. But the strategy of naming and sometimes isolating troublesome individuals was, however, only successful in certain lesson phases and contexts. Whole class teaching, especially where Mike used the blackboard, and required the attention of all, still proved problematic in maintaining attention and preventing and controlling distractions in the form of pupil-initiated noise. Towards the end of his time with the class, Mike found it necessary to compromise and in part to accept their definition of the permissible level and amount of pupil-initiated noise. Thus he avoided class teaching altogether, and modified his expectations of the class in terms of behaviour, noise and work. Mike at this point 'coped' with the process of establishment and achieved a temporary, though fragile, working consensus. This meant his coming to terms with the persistence of pupil-initiated noise, accommodating his failure to succeed in imposing his definition of the situation and reaching a compromise with the class.

The second set of extracts from lesson evaluations illustrate well the near-impossibility of achieving a shared understanding of classroom life via a negotiation of the process of establishment, given the constraints and limitations of class contact on school experience. These lesson

evaluations chart Fay's encounters with a second-year group of twenty-six whom she took for drama in one double period a week. The second school experience was five weeks in length, but since Fay was ill on one occasion, in fact she only taught this class four times. This inevitably intensified the establishment process.

Lesson 1

I encountered some resentment embodied in some pupils in terms of non-co-operative/disruptive behaviour. Their behaviour was explained afterwards as stemming from the fact that they were due to do a tragedy with their drama teacher and the lead roles wanted their glory (). One girl, Jane, tends to be rather cheeky but will be alright if separated from the boys she prefers to spend her time with. They are a boisterous group, but if their energies can be channelled in a common direction they could produce some good work.

Lesson 2

This lesson was not the success I hoped for, but I was throwing myself in at the deep end and didn't drown as a result, even though I felt I was dicing with death. The group are rowdy and one of the worst-disciplined I have. There is a group of about half-a-dozen who are committed. They have difficulty listening to me because the others chatter incessantly, and I found the constant stopping and starting a real headache. However, given that I knew this class were not prepared for this kind of drama, I did manage to keep them in line - just.

Lesson 3

Noise levels were too high - they were very excitable. Main criticism of them - there are a handful who try to be funny among the others and constantly butt in on the lesson by calling out, no matter how many times they are told not to - I felt I was losing my sense of humour by the end of the hour.

Lesson 4

My main problem (as always with this group) was getting them to be quiet and listen to each others' ideas. I insisted and insisted on this point and kept calling them to the middle and a circle to discuss - by the end of the lesson I felt we were getting somewhere. 6

Like 4X, this was a class which was problematic for the student teacher because it presented a control problem as defined by the level, amount and content of pupil-initiated noise. For Fay, this constituted a fundamental educational and social problem. The boisterous behaviour and chatter from a large proportion of the class was a continual source of disruption to the flow and educational purpose of the lesson. Achieving the educational objectives of a lesson which itself demanded a certain volume of pupil-initiated noise was founded upon a clash of interests between teacher and pupils. At the same time the persistence of the pupil-initiated noise explicitly defined as illegitimate by Fay represented a direct challenge to her attempts to engage in a process of rule inculcation, and thus indicated a threat to the appearance of order to those inside the classroom. Teaching the class was experienced as a battle of tactical manoeuvres (separating Jane from the boys), of containment (keeping the class 'in line'), and of domination. Fay did not see herself resorting to compromise in the process of establishment. Throughout the four weeks she contrived to assert her expectations for pupil behaviour in terms of rule inculcation, and only at the very end did she see a glimmer of light. The question arises as to how far Fay would have negotiated the process of establishment towards a working consensus given a few more weeks with the class. This is impossible to answer but is essentially what the problem of survival on school experience is all about: the establishment of order as a fragile precondition to teaching and learning in an extremely constrained

social context Given the constraints and contexts of the school experience classroom, it is hardly surprising that many student teachers end up with an explicit conceptualisation of teaching as a 'battle'

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that if learning to cope with illegitimate pupil-initiated noise is the major fact of life of classroom reality, then 'survival' on school experience is a matter of negotiating initial encounters and the process of establishment

Studies of rule inculcation during initial encounters have viewed established teachers as engaging in an induction process whereby pupils are grooved into formal and informal rule structures through the laying down of classroom laws. A number of studies have shown that teachers adopt a range of strategies to establish teacher authority at the start of the school year (Smith and Geoffrey, 1968, Hargreaves et al , 1975, Edwards and Furlong, 1978, Beynon, 1985). Key features of the induction strategies used by teachers studied by Beynon for example were tight organisation of content and action frames, the imposition of key rituals and routines, the call for attitudes of loyalty and deference, the emergence of personal and institutional punishment and reward structures, and the 'selling' of the school and the subject in terms of the myth of 'glittering prizes' for those investing in educational success. The central concern of all

such strategies was the introduction, establishment and rigorous maintenance of strong rule frames

The use of induction strategies of the kind described above was not a clear characteristic of the initial encounters of student teachers with pupils. Unless the student teacher entered a classroom where the class teacher had successfully established a strong rule frame, had effectively socialised the pupils in terms of such institutional and/or personal rituals and routines, and was able through the co-operation and support of the class teacher to maintain the salience of the rule frames (as in Derek's case), the student teacher entered into a classroom battle of a greater or lesser degree. In this way we have drawn attention to the importance of recognising structuring influences on the process of establishment for student teachers on school experience, as well as the constraints which frequently rendered this process extremely problematic. Given the time available on school experience, the possibility of the student teacher establishing their own stable working consensus was severely limited. The socialisation of student teachers into the reality of classroom coping was more often than not a series of combative initial encounters.

The evidence of both this and the next chapter suggests student teachers did not consciously and deliberately attempt to fit pupils into strongly-established rule frames via sophisticated induction strategies. Lacking access to induction strategies of an institutional nature and lacking experience in the development of an effective range of personal

induction strategies, student teachers resorted to relatively crude and 'ad hoc' domination strategies. In meeting the 'sussing' strategies of pupils with such domination strategies, student teachers entered into a conflict of interests which rendered teaching a battle. This battle was however, many-sided, it was a battle to establish relative quiet, to contain pupil-initiated noise as a pre-condition to successful teaching and learning, and to maintain classroom order. It was also a struggle to establish a framework of differential status and expectations, whilst at the same time strengthening personal standing in the classroom. In short, the teaching 'battle' had consequences for the student teacher's identity and commitment. It is these aspects of learning to cope that are the subject of the next chapter.

Notes

- 1 See, for example, Ball (1980), Beynon (1985), Measor and Woods (1984), Hargreaves et al (1975)
- 2 This was not surprising, given the audience of three
- 3 Interview extract
- 4 Ibid
- 5 Ibid
- 6 The lesson evaluations in Fay's school experience file, as for most students, did get shorter in the final weeks of school experience

CHAPTER 7

LEARNING TO COPE IDEALISM VERSUS PRAGMATISM

The theoretical premises of this study lead to a conceptualisation of the process of teacher socialisation as one in which student teachers are actively engaged in constructing their own perspectives, strategies and identities as potential teachers. This takes place within social contexts which are both enabling and constraining. The process of becoming a teacher is not without conflicts and contradictions, successes and failures or idealism and pragmatism. I now intend to identify some of these elements in the subjective career of the student teacher. In doing so, this chapter brings together some of the themes which have been considered so far, in order to raise questions about the relationship between coping, success and failure and the development of a competent teacher identity.

In Chapter 4 we concentrated on the student teachers' first experiences of classroom life and suggested this was a critical phase in the student teacher's career when attempts to establish a social and personal teacher identity were 'at risk'. In particular, we focused on the way student teachers struggled to establish and maintain a self-image as a teacher, especially in crisis situations. The maintenance of self-image was of great significance to student teachers whose claims to teacher status were as yet unsubstantiated.

In Chapters 5 and 6 we analysed the reality of classroom life for student teachers in terms of 'learning to cope'. It was argued that classroom control was the student teachers' major perceived coping problem, and that this was defined in terms of pupil-initiated noise. On school experience, students were placed in the situation of having to negotiate initial encounters without reference and access to the resources and strategies normally available to established teachers. Faced with the persistent reality of illegitimate pupil-initiated noise and the extreme difficulties of successfully negotiating a working consensus, classroom encounters were sometimes experienced as 'battles'.

This chapter is concerned with the dynamic inter-relationship between perspectives, strategies, self-image and identity. We will analyse aspects of student teachers' developing teacher perspectives and how these relate to the implementation of 'coping strategies'. These are viewed as fundamental to student teachers' concerns regarding the establishment of a teacher identity. In doing so, the chapter takes up the question of maintaining a commitment to an ideal self in the face of pressures for pragmatic accommodation and adaptation: how do student teachers maintain commitment and sustain the development of a teacher identity in the face of adverse and hostile circumstances? Before considering my empirical data, a number of conceptual and theoretical issues will be discussed.

Strategies, perspectives and self

The concept of coping strategy is central to the interactionist perspective on classrooms. In considering the influence of both structure and action, the concept of strategy draws attention to problems and constraints that are externally determined, but also recognises the act of creativity on the part of the individual. Linked to the notion of coping, the concept focuses attention on what it is that has to be coped with. This is a complex issue involving different levels of analysis which are difficult to separate out in analytical, let alone empirical terms. Some writers (Woods, 1979, Hargreaves, 1978, 1979) have stressed structural or situational constraints, while others (Woods, 1981, Pollard, 1982) have discussed coping at the individual and psychological level (see Chapter 1). Theoretical analysis has yet to integrate successfully this work. Pollard (1982) has probably gone furthest in an attempt to construct a model of classroom coping strategies, arguing that any model needs to take into account not only constraints but also what 'coping' means, how it is defined by pupils and teachers, the criteria used to judge degrees of coping, and the situationally specific context, perspective, goals and intentions of the actors. As Pollard (1985a) makes clear, 'coping' is more than a response to constraint and pressure, it is essentially subjective, 'individuals can judge if they are or are not "coping" only by reference to criteria which are part of their own perspective regarding their situation' (p 152). Taking up the analysis presented by

Woods (1979) of teacher 'survival', Pollard argues that classroom coping is subjectively defined by reference to the defence of self

It is not the intention of this study to present a comprehensive analysis of coping and the student teacher, but any understanding of teacher (and, by implication, student teacher) coping must consider not only what is to be coped with (see Chapters 4, 5 and 6), but also the relationship between coping and teacher perspective and coping and self. The question of coping (and the related question of survival) has a number of dimensions relating to both objective and subjective aspects of the social world of school experience and of teacher education. Sociologists are now well aware of the dangers of oversimplifying and decontextualising analyses of teacher perspective and self, but we will draw on interactionists' work to provide a framework to examine some aspects of the process of learning to cope as a student teacher.

Following Keddie (1971), we can distinguish between 'educationist' and 'teacher' contexts in order to draw attention to the contrast between views expressed in relation to ideals and theory and those influenced by the practicalities of teaching which often seemingly contradict the former. This distinction reminds us of the context-bound nature of perspectives. Hammersley (1977) has made a related point by distinguishing between paradigmatically and pragmatically motivated elements of teacher perspective.

By paradigm I mean views about how teaching ought to be, how it would be in ideal circumstances. The pragmatic component of teacher perspectives is concerned with what is or is not possible in given circumstances and with strategies and techniques for achieving goals (Hammersley, 1977, p 38)

Together with the distinction made by Keddie, we are able to conceive teacher perspectives as loose frameworks made up of connected and unconnected, coherent and contradictory assumptions and beliefs about both how teaching should be in ideal circumstances and what is possible within the practical reality of schooling. paradigmatic and pragmatic elements of teacher perspective. In 'educationist' contexts, it is likely that paradigmatically motivated elements will be given precedence of expression while in 'teacher' contexts, pragmatically motivated elements will be given voice. Such distinctions provide a conceptual framework for analysis, and do not set out to present a descriptive representation of social reality. The same is true of analyses of the concept of self.

Like teacher perspective, the concept of self is not uni-dimensional. Sociologists have distinguished between the substantive and situated self (Ball, 1972), the personal and social selves, and the 'ideal' and 'real' self. The relationship between these is recognised as complex. Personal identity is the image one has of oneself and will have 'situated' (dependent on time, place and situation) and 'substantive' (stable and enduring), 'ideal' (what one would like to be) and 'real' (what one can be and is) aspects. Social identity is the image others have of oneself and will

again have different aspects. We must also remember that the relationship between the personal and social selves is mutually interactive. In this study we are concerned with the student teacher's developing teacher self in both personal and social terms. Student teachers are concerned to establish a teacher identity in their own eyes and those of others. This teacher identity is, as we shall see, related to both paradigmatic and pragmatic concerns.

We begin this analysis of the subjectively defined nature of student teachers' 'coping' by examining the paradigmatic concerns of their emerging teacher perspective.

Managing the teacher role

Interviewing student teachers after their first period of school experience, I asked them how they would define a 'good' teacher and what they felt to be the difficulties inherent in teaching at this stage of their experience. Responses to these questions were revealing in a number of ways. First, control was central to the notion of the 'good' teacher and order was considered a necessary pre-requisite to 'teaching'. Second, the student teacher's notions of the 'good' teacher were striking in the extent to which they explicitly and implicitly maintained control and order involved establishing a 'good relationship' with pupils. This involved the student teacher carefully managing the teacher role. However, it was evident that role management was experienced as one of the main difficulties in becoming a teacher. As will be seen from the interview extracts below,

there appears to be an underlying consensus that this difficulty is founded upon problems associated with the establishment of a particular self-image and social identity as a teacher

The ability to control a class and to maintain discipline were frequently cited as characteristics of the 'good' teacher. Such control was regarded as an essential pre-condition to effective teaching and learning.

Mike Class management and control is very important in my view. That's where you start, and if you can't get that then you can't really teach.

Abbie I think, you know, discipline - not strict, but you've got to be able to, you know, if you tell a class to be quiet, they've got to listen to you and not carry on and ignore you completely.

Julia Somebody who can control a class I think is vitally important, because you've got to be able to control them to get over what you want them to learn.¹

If a teacher was able to maintain order effectively, then a number of related skills were regarded as important in shaping the teaching strategies of 'good' teachers. These centred on injecting lessons with interest.

Julia You've got to be interesting I think as well, and not drone on one level - provide variety as well in the class.

Sara making the lesson interesting, very stimulating, it's all very well having the facts there in front of you or trying to

teach them something, but you've got to make it really zappy as well, I think, and sell it

If lesson content could not be made stimulating, then the teacher must provide interest For Mike, this was a matter of entertainment

Mike my subject (maths) is classed as being boring Kids say, 'I hate maths' and whatever so if you can just make it a little bit interesting, maybe the questions that you are doing, not just yourself I mean, the greatest compliment that was paid to me was by one teacher where at the end of an hour lesson with 2nd years who were probably my worst group that I took this time, just came up and said, 'Yeah, you're fun you're fun in the classroom', and that means so much because you can get through to more kids that way You see, I dash around the classroom, bounce about Somebody puts up their hand, I sort of waltz down, sort of .

A number of students mentioned humour as an important teacher characteristic

Julia Umm, a good sense of humour I suppose would help because then you can laugh at certain things which other teachers might not appreciate, you know, and it establishes a good relationship with the children

Sara based her ideas on a teacher she had admired when she was at school

Sara although she wasn't she wasn't particularly strict, at the same time she held the class, you know, everybody respected

her and I think that's one of the most important things having respect And at the same time she had a strong sense of humour and allowed everybody to relax - that's another thing that I think is important

The importance of establishing a 'good' teacher-pupil relationship was frequently referred to by the student teachers, but it was evident this was something they experienced difficulties in achieving The nature of the 'good' or 'right' teacher-pupil relationship was focused on the teacher's ability to create such a relationship through the skilled use of strategies based on domination and fraternisation This was a matter of appropriate, restrained and balanced use of both

Abbie I think you've got to have a certain amount of discipline with them umm I think friendly, friendly to the children, not shouting, biting the kids' heads off all the time

Rose it's no good controlling a class if you terrify them It's hard you've got to strike a happy medium

In talking about the characteristics of the 'good' teacher and the difficulties of teaching, the concept of balance and finding a 'happy medium' or 'middle way' in negotiating teacher-pupil relationships kept recurring The student teachers were aware of the consequences of getting teacher-pupil relationships 'wrong', and very conscious of the problems involved in managing those relationships

Mike finding the right relationship with the kids, so you can get on with enough work, but so that they don't take advantage of you and it's I mean, you don't want to go in too hard, you don't want to go in too easy because both ways they'll either reject you or take advantage of you and it's I think it's impossible for a student to go in and it just click I think it's trial and error, but if you 'error' too much, you're gonna lose them, which'll make it a bad practice because really without the kids' co-operation, really teaching is much more difficult

MS So you felt you got the kids' co-operation?

Mike Yes

MS How did you do that though?

Mike I don't know I don't know how it came about
 You sort of I went in firm, because the kids - it was a really poor area and I was told to go in firm - and once they realised, I suppose that they couldn't get away with anything, and it was just like a normal teacher going in there I had no discipline troubles at all Umm the other girl in the school, she had a bit more difficulty with the kids because I don't think she laid the law down enough, and yet I didn't really want to lay into them all the time - which is really bad, but you had to make it clear you were in charge

The 'right' relationship with pupils was regarded as a pre-requisite to effective teaching, but experienced as elusive and difficult to establish immediately New teachers have to 'lay the law down enough', but judging

what constitutes 'enough' is problematic 'Firmness' was seen as appropriate to establish the teacher's right to define the situation and ensure pupil co-operation For Mike such domination strategies, necessary as they were to secure his personal and social teacher identity, had to be tempered in use Excessive use of domination strategies - going in 'too hard' or 'laying into them all the time' - would result in pupils' 'rejection', while insufficient use of such strategies might result in pupils 'taking advantage'

These concerns were made explicit by Sara and Rachel, who felt they failed to establish the right kind of relationship with pupils on the first school experience Sara thought success in the classroom involved presenting a certain teacher identity, which meant gaining respect rather than being strict, a compromise between formality and friendliness Sara found it difficult to relax the formal side of the teacher role She wanted to fraternise with pupils, but was afraid that the class might take advantage of her, consequently she maintained an authoritative, impersonal front which she felt did not help towards establishing a 'good' teacher-pupil relationship

Sara I was criticised on not coming out of myself enough, holding back too much, being at the top end of the classroom when I should have been talking and walking around them at the same time - being part of them, that I found a problem Umm I don't know, I think that I didn't find a happy medium I should

have compromised more, I found that I was very formal, I was very serious. I didn't smile very much in the lessons, but it was because I was afraid of them taking advantage of me. But I think it can work both ways, I think if you don't ease off a bit then they treat you the same way, they resent the fact that you're being hard upon them.

Sara thought it necessary to 'act in front of them really', but she did not find this easy. Accepting the criticism of her professional studies tutor she was clear about the kind of teacher she was aiming to become in terms of an 'ideal' self. She was aware of the necessity of managing the teacher role through a balanced use of strategies in working towards the elusive 'good' teacher-pupil relationship. Like Mike, she was afraid of being taken advantage of, but also of being rejected or resented by the pupils.

Being a 'proper' teacher

The difficulty of using dominating and fraternising strategies in a balanced way in order to establish teacher identity was also felt by Rachel. However, where Sara felt she erred too far away from fraternisation, Rachel found it easy to be 'nice' to pupils. This meant her relationship with the pupils was not a 'proper' one.² Rachel too, had not yet established a firm identity as a teacher; both her substantive and situated teacher selves were not stabilised or balanced.

MS What did you find most difficult about teaching?

Rachel Umm I think establishing a relationship with the children - this is in terms of being in the school itself - building up a relationship with the children because I didn't know how far to go I didn't know how to respond to them - whether to be very strict with them, whether to be very nice with them - and I just couldn't come to a happy medium, I just couldn't I either had to be very strict or very nice and it didn't work So that towards the end of my T P I knew all the children in my class pretty well and they used to come and chat to me as if I were one of them, and I don't know if that's a good idea or a bad idea I mean, looking back on it now, it's a bad idea It really is, and I know that I shouldn't let it happen again But, on the other hand, I think there's disadvantages in being too strict, because the children are frightened of approaching you - you become unapproachable, then they can't come and talk to you, even to ask simple questions, so you've got to come to this happy medium Somewhere in between You've got to find which is best for you, and I still haven't found it yet [laugh] If I'm being very strict, then you've got to come down from there to being very nice, and then, once I've done that, I can't get back to being very strict, so I suppose this T P I've decided that after talking to the teachers in the school, that I've decided that I'm not going to be nice I know it sounds awful, but in a sense it's got to be 'you and them', otherwise they start to take advantage of you, and so I'll have to try and be sort of, the children over there and me

over here and let it stay that way, because like on my last T P they were far too friendly and far too familiar, you know, saying things like, 'Ooh, where did you get your blouse from?' or 'where did you get your earrings from?' and things like that, which was stupid, I mean, children don't normally go up to teachers and say things like that, do they? And so, I've got to be very aware that it doesn't happen again, because it's so easy to fall into that trap, it really is

MS So you're going to start off being quite firm and strict next time, are you?

Rachel Yes, well not yea, firm I think as distinct as possible to begin with - I think it - it's just got to be like that, for me anyway, possibly not for other people, and I suppose I'll learn gradually how to cope with things [laugh]
It's not that I want to be like that, it's just that I can't cope with it any other way I mean, I would like to be in the middle, so that I could have a mixture of the two, but as yet I can't be like that, and I suppose I've got to learn to be like that, but whether or not I'll be able to I don't know

Rachel juxtaposed 'niceness' and 'strictness', fraternisation against domination and, like the other student teachers, found difficulty in balancing one against the other Too much domination and not enough fraternisation and pupils might be 'frightened of approaching you', but too much fraterisation and not enough domination could result in pupils becoming 'too familiar' This was the

dilemma facing student teachers and the reason why they regarded the 'middle way' as important. It was this management of the teacher role which Rachel, like the others, felt she did not successfully accomplish. On the first school experience, Rachel found herself unsure as to whether to be 'strict' or 'nice'. Moving between the two was also difficult, and she erred towards fraternisation. The danger of over-using this strategy was realised as Rachel felt her teacher identity undermined by what she regarded as the overfamiliarity of the pupils. The pupils had 'taken advantage' and Rachel had failed to establish an appropriate teacher identity. As a result, despite reservations, Rachel intended on her next school experience to redress the balance in her use of strategies by maintaining distance through a use of dominating strategies.

Implicit in Rachel's comments was a notion that the relationship she developed with pupils was not quite 'proper'. For example, Rachel defined pupils' questions regarding her appearance as outside the bounds of 'proper' teacher-pupil relationships, but because the comments were 'friendly', she was unsure how to react to them. Rachel then felt unable to redraw effectively the boundaries of the teacher-pupil relationship, because of her uncertainty about the nature of the pupils' behaviour. Whilst it was indicative of a certain 'acceptance', she recognised that it broke taken-for-granted rules regarding 'proper' pupil-teacher relationships. This situation had negative consequences for Rachel's teacher identity.

Becky also had problems with pupils who challenged the propriety of the teacher-pupil relationship

Becky I had difficulties mainly with the boys, which was funny I don't know if it's got anything to do with the fact that I went to an all-girls school I don't know what it was, but I seemed to have trouble controlling the boys, well, not the boys in the third year, but the boys in the fourth year I did They tended to shout things out and follow me around corridors and so on and things like that - 'Miss, Keith fancies you' - and silly things like that

MS And you found this difficult to deal with?

Becky I did find it difficult to deal with, because it wasn't as if they were misbehaving, they weren't really, it wasn't misbehaviour I couldn't exactly put them in detention for saying things like that

Becky faced a dilemma not only in knowing how to cope with the problem, but more fundamentally in how to define the pupils' behaviour While she saw the boys' behaviour and comments as presenting a control problem in that they broke the rules of the proper teacher-pupil relationship, at the same time she questioned whether their actions were 'really misbehaviour' and whether implementing available control mechanisms would be appropriate

In defining the pupils' actions as 'not really misbehaviour', like Rachel, Becky seemed to perceive their action as ambiguous This may have been so for a number of reasons First, the encounters took place in the school

corridors and were thus outside the accepted rules of the hidden pedagogy of the classroom. The action was ambiguous because the rules governing classroom behaviour, particularly those regarding the legitimacy or otherwise of pupil-initiated 'noise' did not apply. This made the use of control strategies problematic. Secondly, both the fraternising and the sexual nature of the comments presented Becky with a form of behaviour which is inherently ambivalent, a form of sexual harassment which female teachers find particularly difficult to deal with (Mahony, 1985). Thirdly, the view that this was 'not really misbehaviour' was supported by the teachers whom Becky consulted. The teachers said nothing could be done, 'because so and so's got an awful home background, his father's in prison and he will be like that'. The 'pathological home background' explanation of pupil (mis)behaviour gave validation to the inappropriateness of implementing control mechanisms which would unequivocally define the action as misbehaviour. Faced with these dilemmas Becky, by default rather than intention, adopted a strategy of confrontation avoidance. Nonetheless, it is evident that she found managing the teacher role extremely difficult in this context.

The notion of being a 'proper' teacher was developed in Sikes, Measor and Woods' (1985) study of teacher careers, as an ideal type figure against which teachers could measure themselves for the purposes of identity construction. The characteristics of propriety they identified related to appearance, attitude to pupils, relationships with colleagues and pedagogy.³ The student teachers I interviewed also used an implicit notion of a 'proper teacher' stereotype

as a means of identity construction, but here propriety centred upon the teacher-pupil relationship. Sikes et al were interested in the ways in which their established teachers 'managed' the teacher role, taking on some of its aspects and rejecting others. They found that becoming a 'proper' teacher was often articulated in negative terms, a stereotype from which teachers took care to disassociate themselves. This was not the case with the student teachers in my study. The 'proper teacher', at least with reference to pupil-teacher relationships, was articulated in positive terms. Student teachers were seeking to establish themselves as proper teachers. This was not easy to achieve; student teachers had to negotiate and manage such a teacher identity. Propriety in relationships with pupils was both difficult to define and to establish. This necessitated strategic negotiation in meeting the expectations both of significant others - tutors and supervising teachers - and of self, regarding often implicit characteristics of propriety. It also involved resisting pupil challenges to that propriety.

Managing the teacher role was underlain by notions of the 'ideal teacher' and the 'proper teacher', the relationship between which was complex. Implicit in many of the student teachers' comments was the link between dominating strategies necessary to secure the 'firmness' and discipline equated with 'proper teachers' and 'proper teacher-pupil relationships'. Fraternising strategies on the other hand were linked with friendliness, humour and 'being human'. The 'good' teacher-pupil relationship embodied and took as a

pre-requisite a notion of the 'proper' teacher-pupil relationship. To become a 'good' teacher it was necessary to become a 'proper' teacher. This assumption is incorporated in the traditional, and long-held advice to new teachers to 'start off firm and then let up'.

Establishing a 'good' but 'proper' relationship with pupils was one of the student teachers' main goals. This was a major assumption shaping their teacher perspective: it was what they were aiming for in ideal terms. The establishment of positive teacher-pupil relationships was regarded as important in maintaining classroom order and facilitating teaching and learning. The traditional teacher adage 'you've got to have control before you can teach', which stands at the heart of the hidden pedagogy of teaching, was firmly accepted by these student teachers. The means by which this was to be achieved was the stabilisation of a 'good' teacher-pupil relationship founded on appropriate authoritativeness and friendliness, a balance between being nice and maintaining discipline. It involved knowing when to use dominating strategies and when to use fraternising strategies, being human and more importantly being a 'proper' teacher. Few of the student teachers I interviewed felt they had got this relationship right. Nonetheless the interview extracts illustrate how student teachers have taken-for-granted ideas about what teaching 'should be like'.

The concerns of the student teachers regarding teacher-pupil relationships match up with the ideology of control put forward by the professional studies tutors through the

curriculum of the teacher education course (see Chapter 5) The notion of a 'good' or 'proper' relationship with pupils and the importance of fraternisation, friendliness and entertainment were all central to this ideology Moreover the distinction between the 'teacher as teacher' role and the 'teacher as person' role also appeared implicit in the student teachers' perspective as regards concerns about being a 'proper' teacher and being 'human' It was the tension between these two aspects of self in ideal terms that the student used to judge their success in coping with school experience They were also key elements of the competent teacher identity that the student teacher hoped to achieve

Pragmatic concerns coping success and failure

In asking student teachers about the characteristics of 'good teachers' and the difficulties of teaching, the paradigmatic concerns of their teacher perspective were elicited These were the ideals and principles structuring their orientation to teaching within an educationist context In order to identify the pragmatic concerns of the students' teacher perspectives, I asked them about their best and worst lessons This was an attempt to switch the frame of reference from the 'ideal world' to 'my classroom' (Cole, 1985) Accordingly, we now turn to the teacher context and the pragmatic concerns structuring student teachers' definitions of coping success and failure

The following extract from an interview with Becky after the final school experience identifies the basic pragmatic

concerns of the student teacher in the classroom

MS How do you know when a lesson is good?

Becky Just a feeling really A good lesson is
a lesson when you don't have to worry
about disciplining the children, when
you can just get on with the work

ms, What about bad lessons then?

Becky I never think about the content - because
most of the lessons you get over the
content you want to and they do do the
work But I suppose bad lessons boil down
to whether the children behave or not and
if the children don't behave, then it's a
bad lesson

The success of a lesson was fundamentally dependent on the pupils as reality definers It was the pupils in their attempts to adapt, negotiate, resist and challenge teacher definitions of appropriate behaviour who presented student teachers with the key criterion of lesson evaluation When pupils accepted teacher definitions, the business of teaching and learning (work) was facilitated Where pupils engaged in forms of resistance, the student was faced with a coping problem necessitating immediate and pragmatic action I asked Becky how she dealt with pupil misbehaviour

Well, first of all, you don't ignore it You let them know that you know it, but you don't say anything, you just look and then they know and they'll usually sit upright for a few seconds or they'll stop talking and then as soon as you turn away they start talking again so then you have to kind of give them a warning You say, you know, 'Paul' or 'Susan' or whatever and 'come on now, pay attention' Or you can ask them a question

and it either shows that they haven't been listening in which case you say "Now come on, pay attention" or "somebody else tell him or her" and then they feel inadequate and then they do listen Or you just say, "if you don't do it then you're going to be outside the door" or "if you don't do it then you're going to be in detention" and sometimes that worked - not often though - I didn't find that detention or sending people out worked It worked better if you asked them a question or if you, I don't know if you could praise something about them I don't know Punishment just makes them 'anti' anyway but sometimes you really haven't got any choice because the other children in the class, if you didn't punish them, the other children in the class would see it as a weakness in you and so you have to

Pupil misbehaviour, as indicated by pupil-initiated noise, presents student teachers with a situation to be coped with. as Becky said, 'you don't ignore it' As such, the situation necessitates strategic action as a way of 'accomplishing interaction so that self-interests are protected or enhanced' (Pollard, 1985a, p 184) Becky makes it clear that strategies are a means of asserting power, of defining or re-defining the situation and of maintaining personal and social teacher identity In making explicit the strategies she used to secure control in the classroom, Becky draws attention to different aspects of 'coping' Her strategies were intended to secure the educational objectives of the lesson - instruction and learning - but also the social objectives of control and order The latter especially, was essential in maintaining her teacher identity

The strategies which Becky describes were all covertly or overtly centred on domination in that they drew upon the socially ascribed power of the teacher in the classroom. However, at the same time, it was evident that Becky sought to avoid confrontation and to protect her self-interests as both a 'proper' teacher and a 'good' teacher. The strategies Becky used were not selected either at random or according to rational criteria of effectiveness. Teacher strategies are always related to the context of interaction and particularly to the use of pupil strategies. In short, strategies are situationally adjusted (Woods, 1983). Becky described how her use of strategies developed according to pupils' reactive or 'counter-strategies'. Becky first sought to avoid direct or open confrontation through the use of attention-maintaining devices. 'Looks', a form of policing (Hargreaves, 1979) was regarded as only temporarily effective. A form of manipulation, via the use of questioning to demonstrate inattention and restore concentration, 'shows up' pupils and according to Becky was more effective than warnings or threats. The problem with the latter was that they often resulted in a directly confrontational situation which only served to alienate pupils in the longer term. However, as Beynon (1985) has said 'the teacher as strategist has to decide on the spot whether the act perceived as deviant is likely to develop into a serious challenge, or whether his/her interruption will be even more disruptive than the deviant conduct itself' (p 30). There is, of course, little time for deliberation before making a strategical decision and sometimes such decisions are not possible as the 'use of one strategy often slides into another' (Pollard, 1985a, p 184). Although Becky did not regard

punishments as effective, they were sometimes necessary in order to maintain competence in the eyes of the class, especially when threats or warnings had been issued and ignored. In such cases, carrying out an unequivocally dominative strategy was necessary in order to secure teacher identity.

Evident in the above interview extract are a number of issues relating to student teachers' subjective definitions of 'coping' to be discussed in this section.

- a) classroom encounters vary in the degree to which they necessitate 'coping'
- b) 'coping' is construed with reference to pupil (mis)behaviour
- c) 'coping' is a pragmatic and immediate response to a situation where order and teaching are potentially or actually threatened
- d) 'coping' strategies are generally dominating
- e) 'coping' is not always effective

Becky confirmed that the main coping problem for student teachers in the classroom concerned control and order, the main index of which was pupil-initiated noise (see Chapter 5). The persistence of pupil-initiated noise presented student teachers, as we have seen, with social and educational problems that were perceived as threats to the achievement of the twin goals of order and teaching/instruction - what Pollard (1985a) terms 'enabling interests-at-hand'. The achievement of these objectives were necessary for the student teacher to establish a competent teacher self and to gain qualified teacher status by 'surviving' the teacher education course. 'Coping' was linked to order and to

teaching but was also fundamental to the student teachers' defence of 'primary interests-at-hand' centred on 'self' (Pollard, 1985a) Here we are interested in how the student teachers themselves defined classroom coping success and failure Following Pollard, if coping is subjectively defined we must take into account both the 'context and situation to be coped with' and 'the meanings and perceptions of those individuals who seek to cope' (1985a, p 154)

All the student teachers I interviewed were able to identify and describe their 'worst' lesson Worst lessons generally had very high coping demands, were perceived as endangering the achievement of classroom order and teaching, and were potentially threatening to the student teachers' self-image In struggling to achieve order, student teachers attempted to use coercive and dominating strategies to impose their definition of the situation It was the student teachers' lack of success in effectively implementing such strategies and the consequent failure to defend their teacher 'self' that defined the lesson as the 'worst' The student teachers' emerging teacher identity in social as well as personal terms was undermined, albeit temporarily

Rachel described her worst lesson as 'an absolute disaster' It was only the second lesson of the first day of her first school experience The class was a group of ten and eleven year olds whom Rachel was taking for music It was a seventy-minute period taking place in the school's drama studio where there were no desks or chairs

Rachel So you had this great big open space and I had to keep them occupied for seventy minutes and they didn't do any written work at all As soon as these children came in - I had never been introduced to them, I'd never seen them And it was sort of, 'what are you doing here?' I said I was going to be taking them, I was teaching them and, umm, they reacted against me right from the start They said, 'we don't want you, we want Mr Peel' And they decided they wouldn't do anything right from the start, and no matter how hard I tried, they just didn't respond to anything I did They really wouldn't So it put me in this awful situation, because I didn't know what to do myself - I mean it's not as if you're in a maths lesson or an English lesson where you can actually set them work to do, because you can't It's sort of them and you and you're the one who's in control and you're the one who's got to do all the giving before they're even going to respond in any small way to what you're doing So it was just a total disaster really And in the end I just had to resort to just making them stand in silence because I couldn't do anything with them and I had to send a couple of them out

MS So you ended up - they were standing in silence - for how long?

Rachel Well, I would say towards the end of the lesson well, I would say for at least - well, it was at least the last ten minutes of the lesson

MS What happened in the rest of the lesson?

Rachel I mean, I tried very hard, I mean, I didn't get further than singing

MS Getting them singing or you singing?

Rachel Getting them singing I'd got all these wonderful activities to do in the lesson My first music lesson and umm, we started off with singing and they wouldn't sing I don't know whether I should have gone on to something else or not, but I was determined they were going to sing and they were determined they weren't going to sing

MS All of them?

Rachel All of them It started off - a few of them started to respond and then they saw that quite a lot of them wouldn't, then they all didn't But it was supposedly the worst class in the school anyway and the boys were particularly disruptive There was one boy in particular who everybody seemed to do what he wanted them to do because they appeared to be frightened not to - a sort of ringleader In the end I sent him out but it didn't make any difference - didn't make any difference at all and even when I handed out the music sheets - I'd got banda sheets with the words and the music - even when I handed those out, as fast as I handed them out, they disappeared and they said they didn't have them they were just screwing them up and putting them in their pockets I just had no control over them whatsoever I just couldn't do anything I thought about going to get the teacher who was in the next room but I didn't want to because I thought if I did that, then I was giving in and it would reflect badly on me, because they'd think, 'oh, well, she can't control us anyway' And even though I couldn't control them, I was determined not to let someone else come in and do it for me Whether or not it paid off I don't know

The inherent conflict of interests in teacher-pupil encounters was laid bare in this lesson, and as a result the coping demands for Rachel were particularly high. Not only was this an initial encounter, but the pupils immediately engaged in aggressively active 'sussing' strategies (Beynon, 1985). The pupils directly confronted and provoked Rachel by sabotage and refusal (Turner, 1983). Furthermore, not only did Rachel lack the experience and skills to effectively negotiate initial encounters but in this lesson she was denied the basic physical resources of a normal classroom: desks, chairs, writing equipment and so on. The physical context of the classroom was an important constraining influence on her ability to implement 'coping strategies'. Teaching was impossible because the class refused to comply with Rachel's efforts to control them. Rachel experienced this lack of control intensely and struggled to impose her authority on the class. Eventually, she abandoned any attempt at teaching and resorted to one of the most explicit strategies of domination: making the class stand in silence. Although Rachel admitted that she failed to control or teach this class, she was still intent on protecting her self image and her teacher identity. She refused to 'give in' by asking the normal class teacher to take over, because this would reflect negatively on her in the eyes of both the school staff and the pupils. To maintain some semblance of teacher identity Rachel felt she could not abandon the attempt to assert her authority and competence.

In Rachel's 'worst' lesson, the pupils played a crucial role as 'critical reality definers' and were successful in challenging the student teacher's coping ability by undermining her teaching competence. This was also the case with Claire's 'worst' lesson on her second school experience in a comprehensive school.

Claire Ooh' It was this horrible lesson I dread thinking about it. It was last thing Friday afternoon, these third years. I'd sort of planned this experiment which would take a whole double lesson, but they had to work sort of quick, you know, they didn't have to dawdle about or anything. And they came in, they were in a real funny mood, all sort of full of it, and there's me trying to get them to settle down and then I began to sort of go through the experiment and they were just all talking. I mean, I'm not going to talk over them and they just would not shut up, so in the end I said, 'right, you can go and sit down and we'll do something else'. So I got the material I was going to use after the experiment and they did some writing. Then, even while they were doing this, this one boy got this gas mask on which I took off him. Someone was flicking paper across the room [inaudible] having arguments and I was sort of telling them off, but I was having no effect whatsoever, and then they sort of calmed down a bit, so I said, 'right, you can do the first bit of the experiment, because it's got to be left over a week'. And it was - there was syringes and someone started squirting syringes, so I sat him at the front and made him. I don't know what he did, but he didn't do the

experiment - and oh, I don't know, it was just totally chaotic and horrible I think it wasn't through ill-preparation I think I was probably not hard enough at the beginning, not strict enough at the beginning

For Claire, not only was it the last lesson on a Friday afternoon but the class was in a 'real funny mood' they were lively, talking a great deal and not amenable to settling down to work Claire's attempts to quieten the group so she could proceed with teaching failed, and so she modified her original intentions for the lesson, instigating a writing exercise as a means of control Although this did not successfully prevent disorder, it was an effective control mechanism in 'calming down' most of the class Claire then felt able to continue with her original plans for the lesson However, provided with ideal resources for 'mucking' (Beynon, 1985) - syringes - the pupils engaged in active counter-strategies and for Claire, the lesson once again slipped out of control Classroom order and teaching were effectively undermined and Claire questioned her own competence On reflection, she took the view that she failed to establish a sufficiently 'hard' teacher identity at the start of the lesson and thus relinquished much of her power to define the situation Here again, the lesson was experienced as a battle with the student teacher intent on protecting her teacher self-image via the use of dominating coping strategies

In focusing on student teachers' worst lessons, it is apparent that they were not only defined in terms of a

perceived lack of control, but they also involved the (often abortive) use of authoritative dominating strategies to cope with the threat to classroom order. Such strategies were pragmatic reactions to pupils' 'misbehaviour' and aimed at obtaining pupil behaviour which restored order, facilitated teaching and satisfied the student teachers' primary interest-at-hand maintenance of self-image. As pragmatic responses to a potentially threatening situation, the strategies implemented were those which seemed most immediately expedient but once in use frequently had wider-reaching implications for the student teachers' self-image and teacher identity. This was the case with the often mentioned strategy of calling upon the teacher authority of a member of the school staff. Some students used this as a means of control, both as threat and as practice. It was frequently used as a pragmatic coping strategy but perceived very differently by student teachers in terms of its implications for self-image and teacher identity.

Denscombe (1982) has argued that the teachers' ability to operate self-sufficiently and not rely on colleagues for support is part of the hidden pedagogy derived from classroom experience as a pupil and generating a similarity of perspective. The salience of this aspect of the hidden pedagogy among the student teachers I studied was very uneven. Rachel regarded recourse to this strategy as undermining her own competence and as producing confirmation to the pupils that she had 'failed' to cope. She considered it a strategy of last resort, but its long-term implications

for her self-image and teacher identity ruled out its use. Claire, however, apparently regarded this strategy as acceptable, as did Julia

one maths lesson I had, I turned round and there were two boys fighting at the back of the class and I'd just had enough. It had been a really bad day, so I sent them out to the teacher whose class it was, and they were in tears [laugh] 'I don't want to go Miss, I'll be good, I promise. I thought 'oh what'll I do?' So I made sure they went, because otherwise I would never have got any control.

Julia denied the pupils' attempts to negotiate themselves out of the situation because she was aware of the possible negative implications for her teacher identity and thus for her ability to cope with future challenges to her competence. In this way Julia used recourse to the authority of a member of the school staff as a means of supporting her own teacher identity. Sometimes however, the mere presence of an established teacher could transform what might otherwise be a 'good' or 'successful' lesson into one where coping demands were relatively high.

MS I asked you about a 'best' lesson, is there a 'worst' lesson?

Abbie Umm Let me 'yeah' Which one? [laugh] Oh yes, I know the one [laugh] the one. Yes, it was humanities and we'd moved onto paper, making paper from your woods and things, and I thought, 'oh, I'll give them something to do', so I brought in all these different bits of paper and things. It worked all right in one way, but I think, it was the organisation of the paper and handing it out,

it was a bit of a mess really And also, because it was open plan, the headmaster was next door with a group of about ten, and of course I had to try and keep my class quiet so he could get on with his work and for that type of lesson you can't expect kids to sit in silence and work And of course they were louder and louder, and I was going, 'shut up, shut up' - out of the corner of my mouth - you know, 'the headmaster's next door' But, you know, it wasn't too bad a lesson, but the noise level and the organisation of the materials were a bit bad, but really the noise level but as I say, if we'd been in an ordinary classroom which was enclosed it wouldn't have mattered because it wouldn't have disturbed anybody, but because it's open plan and that, you have to keep worrying about the noise and that

MS And you were aware the headmaster was ?

Abbie Well yeah, and that's it, you know - and every now and again he'd look round, and I'd go, 'shut up'', which was a pity really, because they were enjoying the lesson But I just had to keep on shouting at them all the time, which didn't really help

The open plan classroom and the proximity of the headteacher's class imposed coping demands on Abbie The level of noise generated by her own class would have been acceptable, perhaps even legitimate in a different situation However, given the particular context, the situation demanded the use of authoritative coping strategies which Abbie perceived as undermining the 'success' of the lesson This example reminds us of the situational nature of coping strategies and the way in which the coping demands of a classroom

encounter may militate against effective teaching

The use of dominating coping strategies was the means by which student teachers managed, however unsuccessfully, to learn to live with the immediacy of classroom events, particularly critical incidents, in terms of the hidden pedagogy of teaching. Such strategies were essentially ways of accommodating to structural and interactive pressures of classroom situations and were influenced by both material and social contexts among other factors. As a situational means of protecting both self-image and teacher identity, the role of pupils and school staff as critical reality definers was highly significant. Where the coping demands were particularly high, student teachers frequently experienced an opposition between coping and teaching such that classroom activity became perceived as a battle.

Rose. A lot of the others they learnt I think, but I had to fight with them all the time to get it into them - you know [laugh]

MS How do you mean fight with them?

Rose Well they, they were noisy, a lot of talk, chat, up and down getting things and so it was an effort to make them actually sit down and work

Abbie gymnastics with the fourth year, 12/13 year olds. As far as I was concerned it was rubbish 'cause they just didn't want to do it, not at all enthusiastic, just walking around and moaning 'Oh Miss, can't do a forward roll, haven't got a mat'. You know you really felt like shaking them and 'do it' sort of thing

The oppositional strategies of the pupils were experienced as countering student teachers' intentions to teach and called into play the necessity to assert their definition of the situation

For student teachers, the maintenance of classroom order and the personal and professional ability to control a class of reluctant and recalcitrant pupils is regarded as a necessary pre-condition to effective teaching. This is fundamental to the hidden pedagogy of teaching which provides the student teacher with the pragmatic goals of order and instruction. Constantly faced with the threat and often the reality of classroom disorder (most persistently, illegitimate pupil noise), student teachers must develop coping strategies. Such strategies are essentially reactionary and aimed at overcoming a situation which the student teacher finds threatening. These strategies are context specific, are shaped by the circumstances in which they occur and have an essentially pragmatic quality, but at the same time are concerned with maintaining self-image and teacher identity. In these terms the strategies were not always effectively implemented. This raises questions about student teachers' commitment and it is to these issues that we now turn.

Maintaining commitment and self-esteem

Although it is difficult to unscramble the paradigmatic and the pragmatic aspects of teacher perspective (Hammersley, 1977), the gulf between aspirations and reality which they represent is significant. Furthermore, in the context of

teacher socialisation where student teachers are known to start their professional education with high levels of idealism (Lacey, 1977) this disjunction must be expected to cause problems, particularly in terms of identity and commitment Lortie (1975) has captured the nature of this dilemma with reference to teaching in general

Teaching demands, it seems, the capacity to work for protracted periods without sure knowledge that one is having any positive effect on students. Some find it difficult to maintain their self-esteem
(Lortie, 1975, p 144)

Unsure of their ability to secure 'good teacher-pupil relationships' or even of their ability to cope in the classroom context, the student teacher finds some difficulty in maintaining self-esteem. If, following Pollard (1982, 1985a) we regard a primary interest-at-hand of teachers as the maintenance of self-image, then student teachers like established teachers 'will normally be concerned to present particular self-images to the significant others in their role-set which form their audience at any one time' (Pollard, 1982, p 29). This is particularly important for the student teacher's identity construction as a competent teacher, with regard to pupils, teachers and tutors. Self-conceptions are inevitably subjective but are shaped by culturally mediated expectations of what is desirable (the ideal teacher) and appropriate (the proper teacher), and also by the interactive demands of the classroom. As Pollard states, not only will teachers be concerned to present particular self-images but they will also seek to 'realise' their self conceptions by 'acting and by "presenting them-

selves" in ways which are most favourable to their perceived interests and coping needs' (1982, p 30) The earlier analysis of interview data indicates that student teachers experience problems in developing, projecting and sustaining a desired self-image and social identity as a teacher These data raise questions about student teachers' commitment to teaching and how this is maintained despite the difficulties experienced in translating paradigmatically motivated elements of the teacher perspective into action, and the pragmatic conflicts generated by classroom encounters

A partial answer to this question can be drawn from an analysis of student teachers' 'good' or 'successful' lessons In these lessons coping requirements were at a minimum, and teaching was thus (theoretically) facilitated This provided conditions for the realisation of a particular facet of the student teacher's self-image To make further use of Hammersley's distinction in successfully defined lessons paradigmatically motivated elements of teacher perspectives were realised and the dilemma described by Lortie was temporarily and periodically 'solved' Such classroom encounters were important to the student teacher as evidence of their developing personal and social teacher identity, and played a vital role in helping to sustain commitment

'Good' lessons open negotiation and pupil enjoyment

In order to get some idea of the student teachers' criteria of successful teaching experiences, I asked them about their 'best' lesson or the one which stood out as particularly 'good'. The descriptions of these lessons stand in contrast to the 'worst' lessons. The latter were defined in terms of lack of order and failure to cope adequately. We might expect the student teachers to define lessons as successful or good where coping requirements were low and where teaching was most thoroughly facilitated. This was, in practice, only partly substantiated by the students. The most striking thing about student evaluations of 'good' lessons was the extent to which they were defined in terms of enjoyment. The main criterion of a 'good' lesson was that pupils enjoyed it. This is evident in all the examples which follow.

Becky selected an English lesson as her 'best' lesson. This was with a class of children who usually 'moaned', were reluctant to 'work' and generally difficult to motivate, a class where coping requirements were usually high.

MS Is there a 'good' lesson which stands out?

Becky Yes. One I did on poetry for English went really well. I wanted the children to write a poem themselves, but I didn't want it to be any old just lines that rhymed. I wanted them to put down something they were thinking about. I did it through the senses approach - it's really good, Richard, my tutor recommended it. I gave them all workcards with pictures of the seaside and poems relating to different senses, for example tastes at the

seaside - you know, ice cream, hot dogs
 and that And they loved it and I - I think
 it was because they did most of the work
 really I got them to, first of all, before
 I gave out the cards, they had to suggest
 vocabulary that they'd use, and then when I gave
 out the cards, they were really chuffed to
 see that some of the words they'd suggested
 were actually used by these famous poets ()
 and then I asked them to write a poem, and
 they all really enjoyed it

MS How did you know they enjoyed it?

Becky How did I know they enjoyed it? Because
 well, for a start none of them moaned, and
 they tended to be a class that if they didn't
 want to do something, or if they weren't enjoying
 it, they'd say so and none of them did that
 lesson and they all got down to it And also,
 when I got, when I actually looked through the
 poems and I saw the results, I could tell that
 they must have well, I don't know whether
 you enjoy writing a poem, maybe I shouldn't
 have used the word 'enjoy' really, but when I
 read through them, I realised that they'd really
 got down to it They'd done something, yes,
 they'd actually done something, so they must
 have enjoyed it - they must have been motivated
 to do something otherwise they wouldn't have
 bothered would they?

MS So how did you feel when you came out of the
 lesson?

Becky Oh I was pleased with that lesson I was really
 pleased with it The lesson The lesson out of
 however many I did

In this English lesson, the key criterion of success was the pupils' enjoyment. Becky saw this as underlying both the pupils' motivation in getting down to doing the work and the results produced in terms of output (poems). Although this class usually presented high coping demands, in this particular lesson, coping requirements were low and there was no battle to teach. Becky interpreted the absence of 'moaning' and the fact that all the pupils produced a poem without coercion or explicit negotiation on her part, as evidence of enjoyment. It was a lesson where Becky successfully motivated the class, thus keeping coping demands to a minimum and facilitating the teaching task.

Frank made explicit the low coping requirements of his 'best' lessons. He put this down to the establishment of a 'good teacher-pupil relationship', a relationship which implicitly involved enjoyment in the form of humour.

Frank: I think the group of lessons, umm, maths lessons for the fourth year 'O' level group. And it wasn't just the material, although they seemed to be interested in that, but I seemed to strike up a very good relationship with them and every - I only had them for a double, no sorry, two single periods a week, and they seemed to, we seemed to get on a lot better with those than the other two groups, and just sort of general - not just teaching, but overall - umm, better rapport.

MS: And did you feel that paid off in terms of your teaching?

Frank: I think it did. It meant for a start, umm, you were going into a lesson, you could almost look forward to it which is a great help. You

go in, you knew there was no really disruptive element within the group, but being a fourth year group they were chattery and they could be a bit noisy at times, but they were very easy to keep under control and bring back under control. Umm, they were quite bright, although it wasn't the top 'O' level group. umm, it helped, because you knew you were teaching them and they were receptive. umm, and there were some quite good characters in it and you could see, there was quite a bit of humour, you could inject a bit of humour into the lessons without losing control.

Although this class was 'chattery' and noisy at times, they were 'easy to keep under control' and unlikely to engage in serious and sustained disruptive behaviour. In this sense, the coping requirements of the lessons were low and teaching was facilitated. 'they were receptive'. Since the coping demands of the lessons were not intrusive on the teaching task, Frank found himself able to develop fraternising strategies via the injection of humour without any undermining of control. In this way, a 'good teacher-pupil relationship' was built up. Frank regarded his own and the pupils' enjoyment of the lessons as indicating success.

The student teachers' descriptions of 'good' lessons suggested that these were not characterised by the negative and problematic features of 'bad' lessons, especially as regards order and teaching. Nonetheless, the pupils were still significant as reality definers. The success of the lesson was judged with reference to their behaviour. It was not, however, simply a matter of the pupils accepting the teacher's definition of the situation and conforming to

teacher goals The success of the lesson lay in the interaction between teacher and pupil produced by means of open negotiation where both pupils and teachers were engaged in working towards a consensus by recognising not only their own interests and concerns but also those of the other (Woods, 1983, Pollard, 1985a) Pollard (1985a) says of open negotiation

Both the children and the teacher show interest in the activities of the other Teachers seek to stimulate and genuinely connect with the children, while the children similarly bring things into school and contribute actively to the momentum of the class activities This momentum is interactively constructed, the teacher being willing to negotiate the curriculum to build on the children's interests
(Pollard, 1985a, p 186)

It is possible to subsume a range of teacher strategies under the general heading of open negotiation, from praise and flattery through humour and play, to concessions and indulgence (Woods, 1979, Turner, 1983) All of these have in common an element of fraternisation and were justified by student teachers not in terms of control and order but in relation to pupil enjoyment

Sara and Jill's accounts of 'good' lessons suggest they were based on open negotiation

Sara Umm one of my last lessons, funnily enough, towards the end was I particularly enjoyed, and I know they did, and that was we'd spent some time on 'Lord of the Flies' - this was a fourth year group English, and somehow it got round to Pinter because I was talking to them about 'Lord of the Flies' and - oh, I know there's a bit in it where Piggy is betrayed

() and I was relating that to a sketch in Pinter 'The Caretaker' where () I read the sketch, it was typed out so they'd got it to read, and they thoroughly enjoyed it and they wanted me to tell them what happened at the end of the play - so I carried on reading extracts of it to them - and I didn't think

I thought it would be too high for them, the level and some of the language, but they really enjoyed it So that made me feel good

The main criteria of the success of the lesson was pupil enjoyment - and also teacher enjoyment Woods (1979) describes this teacher strategy as indulgence, a form of fraternisation It involves capitalising on pupils' interest on the times that they actually do become interested As Woods says, 'no doubt this frequently has pedagogical value, but equally it is often done unrelated to the lesson as planned, and justified only post hoc' (1979, p 158) Sara's reading of the Pinter extracts was unplanned but she took up the pupils' interest and since it was her last lesson and the class seemed to be enjoying the sketch, the outcome was not only justifiable but the basis for a 'good' lesson

Jill also capitalised on the manifestation of pupil interest and engaged in open negotiation

MS Looking back on the four weeks now, can you pinpoint any lesson which you felt was particularly good?

Jill Yes, I think, definitely, umm I one or two poetry lessons went extremely well

MS Can you tell me a bit about them and why you think they went well?

Jill Well, the teacher kept saying that the children didn't like poetry [laugh] whereas in fact -

and she said they didn't like poetry at all
- they didn't like writing poetry and umm

they just like to copy a poem perhaps
and draw a picture of it Whereas I like
poetry, and I tried to read some poems to the
children, that other children liked I used
a book 'I Like This Poem', which was poems
chosen by children and I tried to put
over that some children actually liked poetry
and chose poems because they actually mean
something to them and I read a lot of funny
poems I wanted the children to choose a
poem and bring in that they liked and perhaps
say why they liked it But as far as that went,
they could only say they liked it because it was
funny or they didn't like it because it was
boring I couldn't get anything sort of, any-
thing deeper than that But the children were
getting poems right up to the last day at school,
thinking that 'I brought this in to show you
because, I know you like poems' - whether they
were doing it because they thought I liked
poems, but at least they were looking through
poems and reading () In one lesson we were
doing sea poems and I was hoping to bring in a
bit of 'The Ancient Mariner' and I told the
children about this poem and the albatross
and the legend and they got really interested
and I actually read it to them and you could
hear a pin drop' I only did a section of it,
quite a big section and they wanted me to finish
it and the bell had gone and it was playtime
and they really loved it

Jill's strategy had pedagogical value, as well as promoting
pupil enjoyment She had worked hard to get the children
interested in poetry, and once successful, capitalised on
that interest in developing her relationship with the class

Mike cited a games session as his best lesson where a class who usually presented coping problems, unexpectedly manifested interest

Mike The kids got involved - the fourth year were difficult, they didn't really want to do rugby. They preferred football, and it was hard to get them interested at first, and then one lesson it just clicked and they really tried hard

MS What did you feel you'd done?

Mike I don't know I think they just had the right sort of practice and were in the right frame of mind to do something and fortunately I clicked up on this and allowed them a games situation that really got going, and they actually started playing rugby I was going to do a cross-country afterwards, sort of just to end the lesson off and I cancelled that I just let them play on with the game cause they were so, so involved in it and you could feel it out there, it was - I don't know - like an International, the way the kids were playing it

MS So how did you come out of that lesson feeling?

Mike I thought it was really good, really good feedback from the kids as well They seemed to be happy to be out there, seemed sorry for the end of the lesson

According to Mike, the pupils were simply in the 'right frame of mind' and he was able to use this to facilitate the momentum which signified a successful lesson built upon open negotiation

The picture of 'good' or 'successful' lessons stands opposite 'bad' or 'unsuccessful' lessons. A significant characteristic of the latter appeared to be the ineffective implementation of dominating strategies, the use of

dominating strategies having been a pragmatic attempt to assert or reassert classroom order. Dominating strategies were perceived by student teachers as control strategies aimed at establishing order as an essential pre-requisite to teaching. In short, they were coping strategies, a means of 'survival' (Woods, 1979). 'Good' lessons were characterised more by the successful implementation of fraternising strategies. Such strategies were not however perceived as control strategies since they were connected with teaching as much as coping. This is important because we are concerned with the subjective aspects of coping in relation to teacher perspectives. This point is clear if we consider another aspect of fraternisation referred to by Woods (1979) - entertainment.

Many aspects of modern 'progressive' teaching embrace the entertainment principle. The use of film, television, radio and records, and devising the projects, fieldwork and so on, have control as a major aim (p 157)

'Entertainment' was an important aspect of the official ideology of control proffered by the professional studies tutors. control problems, it was suggested, are more likely to be manifested where the teacher fails to provide motivation and interest (see Chapter 4). However, to regard 'entertainment' solely as a control strategy ignores the extent to which student teachers regarded it as an important ingredient of successful teaching, quite distinct from control. 'Entertainment', like 'indulgence' as forms of fraternisation were not simply perceived as coping strategies. Both strategies helped produce successful lessons in terms of pupil enjoyment and also promoted 'good'

teacher-pupil relationships, they were not utilised simply as means of control. Entertainment and indulgence were regarded by the student teachers as of pedagogic value. This was made explicit by Becky. She talked about the class of 'lovely children' she was attached to for registration purposes and taught for English and Humanities on her first school experience.

Becky Umm by the time they'd got to know me, they wanted to do the work just simply because, I think, they knew me - which is a strange thing to say but - they all became so enthusiastic, and if I did anything, even if I just brought in a record and played it, they were so excited about it. When I look back on it, I didn't use enough things like that, I could've arranged a lot more things. But one day I arranged for Paul Brown and that technician from college to come and video them. And it was, honestly they talked about nothing else for about three days before and three days after, and their faces'. When they saw themselves being played back on the television'. They got so much out of it. I don't know whether you'd say it was educationally valuable, but they enjoyed it so much, it was such an experience for them. They were just so enthusiastic about everything I did, I didn't really have to motivate them very much.

With this class, coping demands were minimal, and motivated, enthusiastic children meant teaching was relatively easy. Becky implied she established a 'good' teacher-pupil relationship without difficulty. 'Entertainment', via the use of records and video, were not used because she experienced control problems with the class. They were not perceived as

a form of 'coping' strategy. However, the use of forms of entertainment was seen as a valuable teaching strategy (Becky suggests that she should have done more 'entertaining'), stimulating motivation and enthusiasm and, by implication, learning.

From an analysis of these examples, two issues regarding student teachers' 'good' lessons emerge. First, the coping requirements of these classroom encounters were low. In these lessons, students did not feel they had control problems or that classroom order was actually or potentially threatened. (This is probably why 'good' lessons were rarely described in terms which directly opposed those used to describe and define 'bad' lessons: student teachers did not perceive themselves as 'controlling' or 'coping' with pupils in 'good' lessons.) Since order is a taken-for-granted prerequisite of teaching, theoretically the situation was conducive to that goal. These accounts stand in contrast to the 'battles' described in the accounts of 'worst' lessons. Secondly, although theoretically the classroom situation was conducive to successful teaching, the 'success' of the lesson was defined in a very specific way by student teachers, that is, in terms of pupil enjoyment. Given the assumptions of the hidden pedagogy concerning teaching competence and its emphasis on classroom control, and the significance of order and instruction, we might expect lesson success to be measured by reference to pedagogical or learning outcomes. This was not the case. Neither Sara nor Jill justified the reading of 'The Caretaker' or 'The Ancient Mariner' on educational grounds. Becky wondered whether the time spent

videoing the class was educationally valid. It seems that what, or even whether, children learn anything was not the main consideration - the fact that they enjoyed the lesson was grounds in itself for success. The question arises as to why pupil enjoyment was so significant to the student teacher. We can answer this question by considering subjective definitions of coping in relation to teacher perspectives.

If fraternisation is about working for good relations with pupils, then the 'good' lessons described in the interview extracts may be regarded as successful attempts at implementing fraternising strategies. Students view pupil enjoyment of a lesson as evidence that they have, at least for that lesson, established a 'good' teacher-pupil relationship. We have seen that establishing a 'good' teacher-pupil relationship was regarded as one of the main characteristics of the good teacher. This involved the balanced and appropriate use of dominating and fraternising strategies to sustain a proper and competent teacher identity. Student teachers did, however, find the achievement of this goal both difficult and elusive. This raises problems for the maintenance of the student teachers' commitment and the development of their identity as teachers. As Pollard (1980) puts it

The issue here is that of the degree of maintenance of a particular self-image or belief compared with pragmatic adaption to situational necessities. In a way it is a question of commitment to an ideal self or acceptance of a pragmatic self

(Pollard, 1980, p 37)

Although this dilemma was never ultimately resolved, commitment to an ideal self for student teachers was maintained via the occasional and significantly for them, the potential realisation, of a paradigmatic element of teacher perspective and thus the realisation of a particular facet of self. Classroom encounters where coping demands were minimal, where there was an apparently 'good relationship' which facilitated open negotiation based on fraternisation strategies, were experienced as essentially supportive of the student teacher's interests. Teacher interests-at-hand were satisfied. Order was maintained, instruction eased and self-esteem positively reinforced. The problems of projecting and sustaining a desired self-image and teacher identity as experienced in many lessons could be temporarily forgotten. In student teachers' 'successful' lessons, the vision of the kind of teacher they wished to become assumed a concrete reality. This supported their idealism, repaired their self-esteem and ensured commitment.

Conclusion

This chapter has been concerned with the subjective dimension of coping for student teachers and has attempted to locate this within a conceptual framework of perspectives, strategies, and self. The data reported have been analysed with reference to Hammersley's (1977) distinction between paradigmatically and pragmatically motivated elements of teacher perspectives and Keddie's (1972) parallel distinction between educationist and teacher contexts. This is in line with a view of perspectives as loose frameworks of beliefs and assumptions regarding teaching and teachers in ideal circumstances and more pragmatic concerns within the classroom.

In ideal terms, teaching centres on the notion of developing a 'good teacher-pupil relationship'. This was the goal to which all the student teachers subscribed and aspired. It was an ideal based upon effective and appropriate management of dominating and fraternising strategies to sustain a 'proper' teacher identity. Further, as we have seen, it was an aspiration which was experienced as difficult to achieve. Pragmatically, student teachers often found themselves in situations where coping requirements in terms of order, teaching and maintenance of self, were high and necessitated immediate, that is, pragmatic responses. Such classroom encounters varied in intensity and some were clearly perceived as more copable with than others.

Where pupils actively resisted teacher definitions of the situation and engaged in persistent 'mucking', the

perceived coping demands of the classroom encounter were high the student teacher's personal and social identity was under direct threat. The situation necessitated immediate strategic action. This frequently resulted in the use of some form of dominating strategy, which at times not only failed to 'work' but contradicted and undermined the ideal (paradigmatic) elements of teacher perspective, in particular those relating to self. Furthermore, there seemed to be a negative correlation between the perceived coping demands of a classroom encounter and the extent to which teaching and learning were realisable. The higher the perceived coping demands of a situation, the less teaching was possible and the more the student teacher's self-image and teacher identity were 'at risk'.

I have argued that this raises questions about student teachers' continued commitment and investment in a personal and social teacher identity. From an examination of student teachers' 'successful' lessons, it has been argued that commitment to an ideal self and to the goal of becoming a 'good' teacher is sustained. Pupil-teacher interaction in successful (enjoyable) classroom encounters served to positively reinforce and sustain the student teacher's emerging teacher identity.

This chapter has considered the significance of pupils for student teachers' definitions of coping success and failure in the process of professional socialisation. The following two chapters are concerned with the role of teacher educators and practising teachers respectively, in that process.

Notes

- 1 All data in this chapter are from interviews unless otherwise stated
- 2 Cf Blackie (1977), Burgess (1983, 1984d) and Sikes, Measor and Woods (1985)
- 3 See also Chapter 9 for a discussion of the notion of the 'proper' teacher as used by student and practising teachers

Becoming a Teacher: an ethnographic study

Vol II of II

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CHAPTER 8

TEACHER EDUCATORS AND THE HIDDEN PEDAGOGY

Research into the process of teacher socialisation has suffered from a number of shortcomings, not least of which has been a serious neglect by sociologists (see Chapter 1). The sociological research which exists, particularly that informed by ethnography and interactionism, focuses exclusively on student teachers or interaction between student teachers and their pupils. Others engaged in the process of teacher socialisation - college and school staff - have been almost invisible in the literature. The next two chapters seek to go some way towards redressing that balance, by drawing attention to the significant role of teacher educators and classroom teachers in the process of becoming a teacher. This chapter begins by pointing out some of the important limitations of our understanding of teacher socialisation, before focusing on professional studies tutors.

Teacher education and the hidden pedagogy

A major theme in the literature on teacher education is the apparent 'discontinuity' between college courses and the classroom practice of teachers. The college course with its assumed emphasis upon educational theory and so-called 'progressive' and 'permissive' approaches to teaching, is frequently criticised for its lack of relevance to the real world of the classroom (Morrison and McIntyre, 1973). Such arguments have been particularly well documented on the basis

of evidence of shifts in teacher attitudes and ideology over the college and probationary years (see Chapter 1).

Denscombe (1982) has challenged this emphasis on 'discontinuity', pointing to classroom experience gained as a result of being a pupil for thirteen years as a source of continuity in the preparation of teachers. Denscombe argues that this classroom experience, generates the hidden pedagogy and forms a practical basis for teaching. He goes on to argue that:

the apparent 'discontinuity' between teacher training programmes and the later practices of teachers, (...) would be better understood as part of a deep-rooted 'continuity' interrupted temporarily and perhaps superficially by the process of training. In either case the failure of teacher training programmes to have any long-lasting influence on attitudes to classroom control or classroom privacy can be attributed to the influence of classroom experience and the pressing, practical demands this classroom experience entails. (Denscombe, 1982, p.261)

Atkinson and Delamont (1985) point out that Denscombe's argument is based upon extrapolation from school ethnography back to teacher socialisation, rather than upon a study of the process itself. It is partly for this reason that Denscombe's work suffers from a similar limitation to previous research, in that it assumes teacher education programmes to be essentially, if only superficially, discontinuous with the real world of the classroom. Moreover; also in line with previous research, he assumes that such programmes seek to change traditional teacher attitudes and apparently fail to do so. This has now become an unexamined 'truth' built into our understanding of the so-called ineffectiveness of teacher education programmes. It represents however, a failure within the sociology of teacher education to recognise and document

the complexities and contradictions involved in the ideologies and pedagogies of these programmes.

In asserting the importance of the hidden pedagogy generated by classroom experience, Denscombe for example, fails to consider the extent to which the hidden pedagogy might also be salient to an understanding of the teacher education programme. Indeed, he argues that student teachers are generally exposed in teacher training to a progressive pedagogy which plays down control and regards it as deriving from teaching rather than as a necessary pre-requisite to teaching. In this way the so-called progressive pedagogy of the teacher education course is somewhat opposed to the hidden pedagogy. Denscombe, in line with others (for example, Hanson and Herrington, 1976; Hoy, 1969; Taylor and Dale, 1971) accepts that this progressive pedagogy apparently fails to achieve much impact on the thinking of new teachers and argues this is because 'the crucial factor in shaping teachers' understanding of their work is classroom experience' (1985, p.51) which generates the hidden pedagogy. This chapter challenges this understanding of teacher education programmes, by considering the extent to which teacher educators reinforce rather than challenge the hidden pedagogy thus supporting Haigh's claim that:

Control the class, then teach the class is a common theme passed on from one teaching generation to another, with the accompanying notion that the teacher who cannot control never gets to the point of being able to teach.
(Haigh, 1979, p.7)

This will involve a consideration of the professional tutors' perspective by examining the ways in which they perceive their educational and professional objectives, and their

everyday experience as professional tutors. We begin with the tutors' views of teachers and teaching.

'Good' teachers

In describing the characteristics of the good teacher, both Gerald Lewis and Paul Brown emphasised a similar range of qualities. There appeared to be considerable agreement on these qualities, not only between the two tutors, but the picture so painted accorded well with the discussions on teacher quality from HMI and the DES in the 1980s. This view regards teacher competence as fundamentally related to classroom control and that the decisive factor in making judgements about potential teachers is personal characteristics.

An HMI survey (DES, 1982) of two hundred and ninety-four teachers in their first year of teaching concluded that significant numbers were poorly equipped for their work. This was in part due to lack of proficiency in subject specialism, but much of the criticism concerned matters of classroom management and control:

Characteristics most commonly associated with lessons of low quality included ... poor relationships and class control, particularly in the secondary schools, where occasionally these seriously inhibited the teaching and rendered meaningless any comment on other aspects.

(DES, 1982, p.23)

The publication of this research was significant as it was critical of teacher education and set the themes for a number of later publications in the 1980s, including policy documents.¹ McNamara (1986) has shown that the central theme of these official publications is the view that the personal qualities of teachers are the key attribute of teacher competence.

This was a conclusion reached by HMI in their survey of probationers:

In making their assessment HMI found that the personal qualities of the teachers were in many cases the decisive factor in their effectiveness (DES, 1982, p.80)

The 'research' on which this finding is based does not however stand scrutiny: 'the importance of the personal quality of the teacher is not discovered or established by research; it is merely written in by HMI afterwards' (McNamara, 1986, p.32). This is not to suggest that the personal qualities of teachers are of little consequence, but that the identification of personal qualities which may be related to teacher competence is extremely problematic. This is confirmed by a wealth of literature on the personality of the effective teacher which has served only to make us aware of the difficulties and dangers of such research.² It is one thing to say that personal qualities must be borne in mind when making judgements about teacher competence, it is another to claim that research has established their importance and then to say what those qualities are. Nonetheless, the 'research' has now become a basis for policy decisions and is encoded in the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education's criteria for the approval of courses:

Institutions should have adequate procedures for assessing whether or not candidates display the personal and intellectual qualities suitable for teaching.... (...)

In assessing the personal qualities of candidates, institutions should look in particular for a sense of responsibility, a robust but balanced outlook, awareness, sensitivity, enthusiasm and facility in communication.

(DES, 1984, pp.9/10)

This stress on the 'personal qualities' of potential recruits to the teaching profession was mirrored by the Haydon Park College professional studies tutors' references to 'professional qualities'.

David Hargreaves (1980) has pointed to the importance of the concept of 'professionalism' in the sociological debate over whether or not teaching is to be considered a profession. However, as he says, 'this controversy proceeded without enquiry into teachers' own conceptions of themselves ... yet teachers' everyday usage of the concept of profession is of paramount importance for an understanding of their culture' (Hargreaves, 1980, p.127). In his analysis of teacher culture Hargreaves points out that in 'mundane settings the terms "professional" and "unprofessional" are used to make judgements about a wide range of teacher conduct....' (p.127).³ This was certainly true of the professional studies tutors I interviewed, but it also became apparent that in practice such judgements tended to be related to a limited range of personal and social qualities. In a companion paper to Hargreaves', Mardle and Walker (1980) argue that social judgements are part of academic evaluations and are legitimised under the generic slogan of professionalism. In this sense 'professionalism' may constitute the organising notion of a certain rhetoric regarding teacher competence.

The 'professional' qualities emphasised by the professional studies tutors I interviewed centred upon commitment, enthusiasm or 'dynamism' and the ability to establish good classroom relationships:

MS: What are the qualities you think make a good teacher?

PB: Uhh...there are all sorts of professional qualities, like, er, commitment, being prepared to give it time, devote time to it. Umm, there are qualities like enthusiasm and sympathy and, umm, the ability to be dominant when it's appropriate, the ability to - umm - distance yourself from pupils as well as get close to them. I mean, all that in a sense is related to getting good working relationships with pupils, you know, you've got to, you've got to be able to get close to them so you can get involved with them, talk to them and get their respect, but also you've got to be able to take command of them as well. So, what have we talked about - commitment, all those things that come under commitment, like giving time to the pupils and the school, there's establishing - the ability to establish good working relationships with pupils.....⁴

Gerald Lewis also emphasised the importance of commitment:

A commitment to what they're doing. I think that's the thing that disturbs me that I don't see occasionally in teachers....it's as though the fires have gone out in some teachers, or maybe even never been lit, which is even worse certainly teachers that aren't committed disturb me because I think that, umm, if you're not committed to the job in hand, which means all sorts of things, committed to not just doing your job in the classroom, but to be concerned outside the classroom, to take on extra duties and responsibilities as and when they are appropriate

and enthusiasm:

there are certain characteristics that I often say to students I wish I could endow good teachers with ... I think enthusiasm - they are a bit

clichéd, but I mean by definition clichés are likely to mean something, otherwise they wouldn't have become clichés. So enthusiasm I think is absolutely crucial. If teachers are enthusiastic, then they're half way there. If they are, umm, lively in the sense that they try to make their lessons interesting. I don't mean they've got to dance around and be extrovert all the time, because not everyone has that sort of capacity, and that doesn't mean that teachers who don't display that aren't good teachers....

'Dynamism' was a very difficult quality to specify, but was crucial to professional tutors' thinking:

GL: I've seen very good quiet teachers who aren't sort of dynamic in that (extrovert) sense, but I'd still say they are dynamic, but in a quiet sense, and, in the sense that they challenge children, that they give children interesting work, uhh, they have good control, they care and are concerned for children, so they are dynamic in one sense of the word. But I would want certainly the ability to, umm, put over material, make it interesting, enthusiasm in what they are doing and their approach.

The qualities the professional studies tutors identified as necessary to teacher competence were primarily personal qualities, attitudes and interpersonal skills which give rise to a particular approach not only to classroom activities but to the job as a whole. Commitment, for example, is about devoting time and energy to the school as well as to pupils.⁵ The committed teacher is willing to take on extra tasks and responsibilities, moreover this, it was implied, is the professional attitude. This was linked to enthusiasm which was regarded as a quality essential for

instilling interest in lessons. For Gerald Lewis this did not necessarily mean an extrovert personality but a capacity for care and concern and an ability to challenge pupils through stimulating lesson content. Paul Brown placed much emphasis on the interpersonal skills of the teacher in establishing 'good working relationships with children'. This too was emphasised by Gerald Lewis. When I asked him about the qualities of the good teacher, he prioritised criteria and singled out the quality of the teacher-pupil relationship as the most important:

I think that what makes a good teacher first of all is that, umm, they've got to have a genuine interest in, and concern for people, clearly young people, but I haven't said children as such because I think it isn't just children; you know, it's the trite answer that people trot out when they're being interviewed, you know, 'why do you want to be a teacher?' Cause 'I like kids', you know, it's not as simple as that. I think you've got to be interested in people and have a genuine concern for them - that for me would be the fundamental priority for a good teacher. All the others I'll mention in a moment are in a sense peripheral to that. That would be at the core.

For Gerald Lewis, teaching is about relating to people as individuals in a caring rather than a controlling way. This orientation towards people, and not just children was regarded as the essential characteristic of the prospective teacher. The implication was that teacher competence is strongly related to personal characteristics which students bring to college rather than skills and abilities developed within the teacher education course. A genuine interest in

people certainly took precedence over the acquisition of subject knowledge:

knowledge of subject, as someone engaged in the secondary area, the specialist area, clearly that's going to be an important factor in whether you can teach successfully, but in my opinion, it's nowhere near as important as this relationship side, which I think is fundamental to teaching. If you haven't got good relationships with children, umm, if you haven't got a genuine concern and care for them, at the heart of what you're ... no amount of knowledge of your subject will turn you into a good teacher.

This did not mean subject knowledge was regarded as unimportant. As Gerald Lewis said, 'you need to know what it is you are trying to get over'. Nonetheless, he was emphatic that academic expertise could not compensate for the personal qualities of care and concern which go towards building good teacher-pupil relationships.

Skills developed as a result of the teacher education course were not without significance to the qualities of the good teacher. Having emphasised personal qualities associated with commitment and good relationships, Paul Brown referred to a range of 'technical skills' which he regarded as necessary for teacher competence:

they've got to be able to make decisions about what they're gonna teach on the basis of all sorts of things, on the basis of what they know about their subject and about what they recognise to be influences from other people like inspectors and heads and, umm, reports and so on. So they've got to be able to make decisions about appropriate objectives if you like.

They've got to be able to make decisions about what sort of methodology they're going to use, what sort of activities to use and they've got to be able to manage those activities and there are a whole host of skills involved with those, which I'd expect them to be proficient at. Umm, they've got to be able to display the skills involved with evaluating pupils' learning...

Here we have a picture of the technically proficient teacher.

A decision-maker and manager of objectives and activities, competent in a range of skills associated with curriculum planning, pedagogy, evaluation and assessment. Such skills are acquired as part of the teacher education course: the curriculum studies element of professional studies was tied closely to the development of skills and competencies in these areas for student teachers.

Gerald Lewis also ranked management skills as important qualities of the good teacher. For Paul Brown, however, this was a technical competency, while for Gerald Lewis it was related to interpersonal skills:

I think I'd put as second - if one was putting a sort of hierarchy - an ability to manage children. Now that's related to relationships, but it's a different point. An ability to - I'm trying to avoid the simple words of control and discipline - but it is related to that, they've got to be able to manage children because they aren't going to go out in the main as personal tutor to one or two children, they aren't going to become a coach or someone who's going to be in a small group situation all the time. They are by definition going to go out with a licence to teach, which in the main means they are going to teach groups of twenty or thirty children in an institutional setting.

The practicalities of handling thirty or so children together in a classroom demand management skills:

...and if you don't have management skills, then no amount of content knowledge and even no amount of care and concern for children will ultimately work, because the dynamics of children together in large groups in those sorts of institutions take away their, uhh, natural goodness if you like, or their natural ability to adjust to someone who is kind or concerned or compassionate: they also need controlling and managing, and then, once you've managed and controlled them, if you're got that first attribute of genuine care and concern, that can come over and then you can put into effect the content knowledge that you are trying to ...
(my emphasis).

There appeared to be some ambivalence in Gerald Lewis' views of the fundamental qualities of the good teacher. Having first asserted the primary importance of genuine care and concern for children, he then argued that management skills were the crucial qualities. For Gerald Lewis the 'natural' tractability of children disappears when they are put together in large groups and this necessitates management and control skills on the part of the teacher. Revising his earlier comment, Gerald Lewis appeared to regard management and control skills as essential pre-requisites of the 'good' teacher. A similar ambivalence about the necessary interpersonal skills for fostering good teacher-pupil relationships was also expressed by Paul Brown when he talked of the ability to be dominant and take command of pupils and the ability to get close and involved when appropriate.

These apparent contradictions and ambivalences in the the tutor's assessments of the qualities essential to the 'good' teacher should not surprise us if we remember that perspectives are loose frameworks of beliefs and assumptions informed by idealistic and pragmatic concerns. The contradictions which appeared in Gerald Lewis' characterisation of the 'good' teacher draws our attention to the way in which teacher perspectives can be informed by educational ideology and the hidden pedagogy.

It can be argued that the concern to establish a 'good' relationship with pupils has become central to modern educational ideology.⁶ Although the concept of a good teacher-pupil relationship is itself intangible, it does symbolise an ideology or body of ideas with which most teachers would wish to identify. In short it conveys a set of values which represent modern educational orthodoxy. This ideology informs the paradigmatic elements of teacher perspectives, but teacher perspectives are also informed by pragmatic concerns which often militate against those of educational ideology. These practical demands, according to Denscombe (1982), generate the hidden pedagogy. In this context it is important to remember that Gerald Lewis and Paul Brown, in common with most other teacher educators, have shared in that classroom experience as pupils and teachers. It is classroom experience which generates a specific set of expectations and assumptions about behaviour in classrooms - a set of assumptions about teaching which emphasise the pre-eminence of control. Such assumptions were certainly part of Gerald Lewis' and Paul Brown's perspective. Thus the apparently contradictory references to care and concern for children and the ability

to be dominant when appropriate, reflect the salience of educational ideology and the hidden pedagogy respectively. Moreover, it is possible to take the argument further and suggest that the belief in the fundamental necessity for control is justified in terms of educational ideology by the rhetoric of classroom management and 'good' teacher-pupil relationships. These concepts were central to the ideology of control embodied in the formal and the informal curriculum of the teacher education course (see Chapter 4). In relation to this it is notable that Gerald Lewis explicitly sought to avoid using the terms 'control' and 'discipline' and referred instead to classroom management. Nonetheless he slipped into using the phrase 'management and control', which suggests that they are not essentially dissimilar. The somewhat nebulous concepts of classroom management and 'good' relationships expressed in educationist contexts may operate to legitimate the pragmatic salience of the hidden pedagogy in contemporary teacher education.

The hidden pedagogy was then, an important influence on the professional studies tutors' perspectives. This is merely one way however, in which it can be argued that assumptions about classroom control are not fundamentally challenged in teacher education courses. We now consider the assessment of teaching competence in this light.

Assessing teaching competence

Student teachers at Haydon Park College were continually assessed throughout the professional studies year, culminating in reports at the end of each period of school experience. The reports, produced after consultation between tutors and teachers, were based on the following criteria set out in the College School Experience Booklet:-

- 1) Relationship with children
- 2) Relationship with staff
- 3) Planning and preparation
- 4) Content, methods and materials
- 5) Presentation and display
- 6) Assessment and evaluation of children's work, including record-keeping
- 7) Assessment of own work
- 8) Involvement in extra-curricular activities and/or general life of school
- 9) Summary, advice and comments.

A three-point scale was used in assessing the student's school experience:

- a) satisfactory at this stage
- b) unsatisfactory at this stage
- c) unsuitable for teaching.

Towards the end of the final school experience, external assessors visited a sample of students, and their views were incorporated into the final report. Grades were awarded at the end of the third school experience in terms of Distinction, Credit, Pass and Fail.

These were the formal details of assessment which provided indications to tutors, students and teachers of the kind of technical and professional competence which new recruits would be expected to demonstrate. However, it tells us little about the process of assessment. We now turn to the constructs and typifications used by professional studies tutors in their formal and informal assessment of

student teachers. By focusing on detailed interview data from each of the tutors, together with data from fieldnotes, it will be possible to examine the taken-for-granted and common-sense aspects of student teacher assessment. This will reveal the relative importance of personal and social qualities as opposed to technical ability in a range of teaching skills, and the salience of the hidden pedagogy, for judgements about teacher competence.

In general, both tutors regarded the process of becoming a teacher as a developmental one: students were expected to build on, and become more competent in, the skills of teaching, and gradually increase in confidence over each period of school experience, so that, by the final school experience they would be able to take on the full role of the teacher. Gerald Lewis gave me a graphic description of this process:

....there's a little sort of diagram which used to occur in one of the school experience booklets which used^{to} cause us amusement, partly because we knew it caused amusement in schools, and that was a diagram of some stickmen, and the stickmen progressed upwards in height, so they started with a little stickman and a big stickman, and the little stickman represented the student on the first school experience and the big stickman represented the teacher. In other words, on the first school experience, the student was very small in comparison with the teacher, and was heavily dependent on the teacher.....and then the second sort of diagram in that sort of series was the little stickman a bit bigger and the big stickman a little smaller, but still a differentiation between them, so that one was demonstrating increased independence by the student, but still having to depend on the teacher's help, and

then the final diagram they were equal in height. So one was really saying that your expectation... it was a sort of growing expectation over the three school experiences, that you saw students starting off being very heavily dependent on the teachers in the main and gradually developing self-confidence, independence and self-determination, so that by the final school experience, if not before, one was looking for students demonstrating a complete ability to take over the role of the teacher, insofar as within a matter of months, assuming they were successful, that would be exactly the role they would be expected to take....on September 1st in some cases they would be into a school and expected to carry out that role.

Over the year students were expected to become increasingly independent, self-confident and able to carry out the activities and responsibilities of teachers with increasing competence, and without the assistance of colleagues. The diagram described by Gerald Lewis suggests a status transition from student/learner to teacher; a status equal to those who were previously the student's own teachers in that period of status transition.

Implicit in this portrait of the developmental process of the professional studies year was an assumption that the expectations of students as potential teachers would increase with each school experience. This was true regarding both the technical teaching skills which students had to acquire and those elements of 'professional' competence which could not be directly taught. Paul Brown told me what he expected of students on the first school experience:

One of the important things is whether they can relate well to children....ummm, whether they can manage the sort of situations they'll meet with a class. I mean, those two things are obviously related. Also, looking on the first practice to see whether they've picked up the basic essentials of planning and preparation - planning lessons, whether they go through the kind of model that we've talked to them about, thinking through objectives, thinking about objectives and sequencing them appropriately and evaluating pupils' learning. Umm, don't expect them to be exceptionally good at that. I mean, they're still going to be fairly naive at that, but we're looking to see that they go through that process....I think the most important one is the extent to which they manage to relate well to the pupils and establish what you'd I suppose call a good working relationship - umm, that's tied up with things like whether they've managed to control the class, whether they've picked up the basic skills of gaining attention and not starting until they've got it - those things I think are very important on the first practice.

Central to Paul's Brown's expectations were the two distinct, but inter-related elements of teacher competence. The most important thing for him concerned the student's ability to relate to, manage and control the pupils. The second element concerned whether or not the student picked up the basic technical skills of planning and preparing lessons as taught in their college studies. These were general expectations of students on the first school experience, but it is important to note the priority attached to teacher-pupil relationships and classroom 'management' because it was this which was of prime concern to the tutors, and formed the basis for assessing students' progress. This was confirmed by Gerald Lewis. He was quite definite about what he would look

for in students on their first school experience.

I don't expect them to behave like experienced teachers, but I do expect them to show that they can control the class and issue instructions clearly and confidently.

The tutors were not however necessarily looking for demonstrable ability so much as some indication, minimally, of its potential. It was recognised that students started the professional studies year at markedly different levels of competence in their ability to undertake the role of teacher, particularly in relation to effective classroom management:

GL: the graph line is not the same for everybody - in some cases, some people demonstrated quite incredible competence on their first school experience, and therefore in their cases one was simply looking for a refinement or an extension, or sustaining that particular promise. In other cases, people were clearly not ready to undertake even the most limited role that we would expect most students to do, and in those cases, umm, one was in the business of, umm, being really, umm, really far more supportive and helpful than you would be in others, and simply hoping, you know, that there was a potential there and it was worth carrying on.....

Like all teaching, the education of teachers inevitably involves a great deal of differential assessment. This was formally institutionalised at the end of the course in terms of the grade categories of pass, fail, and so on. Informally, differential assessment was also a constant activity on the part of the tutors. Tutors made judgements about students' classroom competence even before they went on school experience:

GL: you can predict for most students what they are likely to be like in the classroom. There are various clues: their general confidence, the micro-teaching, when they speak in seminars, their personality in general....

Informal assessments were then rapidly confirmed or reviewed after the student had been seen 'in action' in the classroom. In the second week of the first school experience, after Paul Brown had visited each of his students in school once, I asked him if he was able to tell at this stage whether they were likely to make out at teaching. He told me he had a 'pretty good idea'; most of the students were 'doing O.K., although they're all much too tolerant of things like noise levels'. He said he was able to place all the students in rank order according to how good a teacher they were likely to become. For instance:

Becky: I'm very pleased with her - she's very enthusiastic and anxious to be a good teacher. She's working very hard and has developed a sympathetic and firm relationship with the kids.

Mike:is doing extremely well, he's very conscientious, is preparing in detail and learning from his lesson evaluations. He's involved in things at lunchtimes and after-school football practices - and he still manages to have a social life!

Rachel: She was very anxious about the whole thing, and consequently she's very sharp and strict with the kids - in fact, she's too hard really, she shouts at them - but that's because she's still nervous and anxious.

Paula:is doing all right, I'm not really worried about her, she's working hard. She's a bit aggressive in her approach, but.....

Francis: He's my main worry; he's not getting on at all well, he's much too hesitant and quiet....⁷

What is noticeable about all these comments on student teachers is the reference to the personal characteristics of students - enthusiasm, working hard, sharpness, hesitancy, nervousness and so on. These appeared to be the most salient criteria in evaluating students, particularly at the early stages of the course. The 'good' student after the first school experience had a degree of self-confidence, was working hard in terms of preparation and in the classroom, was enthusiastic and 'dynamic', and above all, was able to maintain control in the classroom. Not all students lived up to such expectations.

Each year, a small number of students on one or other of their school experiences were assessed as 'unsatisfactory at this stage'. The grounds for this were apparently quite varied, including insufficient preparation and planning, problems related to relationships with pupils or unsatisfactory relationships with school staff. However, as Gerald Lewis pointed out, 'whatever the reason, it wouldn't be so gross that we thought they were unsuitable for teaching..... it would simply be matters that we thought capable of remediation.....'. Such remedial work might take place via intense tutorial work in college, or through extra micro-teaching sessions, extra observation in schools or extra teaching practice. In short, the weakness would be defined and the student receive support and help in overcoming that

weakness. This was the logic behind the grading system of school experience, and its justification. In practice however, it was evident that the process did not always work as Gerald Lewis described.

For example, students were sometimes classified as 'unsatisfactory at this stage' even when the tutor thought they were 'unsuitable for teaching'. Furthermore, defining a student's weaknesses and setting up a remedial programme of action was neither nearly as straightforward nor as feasible as Gerald Lewis implied. This was partly a function of the difficulties inherent in grading students and assessing teaching competence, issues discussed more fully below, and partly because students were often assessed as unsatisfactory when they did not display the personal and social competences expected. This seemed to have been the case with Kerry.

At the end of the second week of school experience, Paul Brown had visited each of his students in school at least once. On the Friday of the second week, I joined him on visits. He told me he intended to visit Kerry first of all because she did not appear to be making out: her subject tutor and the school were in agreement that she was not very good. In Paul Brown's opinion, Kerry was 'bone idle, she needs a good slap on the wrists to get her working harder'.

On arrival at Brooklands Middle School where Kerry was placed, we discovered she was taking a swimming lesson with the P.E. staff at the swimming baths some miles away. Paul Brown took the opportunity to ask the Senior Mistress whether Kerry was making any progress: had she become 'more dynamic'

or 'shown any initiative' in the classroom? Apparently she had not.

On our arrival at the swimming baths, Kerry seemed somewhat taken aback to see us and said she had not been expecting a visit. She seemed flustered and immediately told Paul Brown her lesson evaluations were not up to date. Paul Brown told her not to worry: he felt like getting wet and she should carry on as normal.⁸ Kerry was working with a group of seven ten-year olds at one end of the pool, while two teachers took the rest of the class at the other end. It was extremely noisy, with children splashing and shouting and teachers necessarily raising their voices to make themselves heard. Kerry was conscious of our presence in observing her - we sat at the side of her end of the pool - consequently her attention was not fully with the seven pupils. Kerry's group were the non-swimmers and they were swimming widths with the aid of floats and arm-bands and jumping in and out of the water. Kerry spoke to pupils as they demanded her attention and suggested particular activities, but mostly the pupils were left to get on with whatever they were doing in the water: splashing, jumping, standing, watching one another, attempting a few strokes. In contrast to the two teachers, who were constantly on the move, organising, instructing, praising and criticising their group of pupils, Kerry's teaching style was inactive and unassertive.

At the end of the lesson, as the pupils changed, Paul Brown spoke to Kerry while I glanced through her file. I did not hear much of what was said because it was still very noisy. Moreover, because Kerry had seemed so nervous about

the visit I did not want to appear to be listening. Later, in the car, Paul Brown gave me his assessment; his tone indicated he was irritated and angry with Kerry:

She was very defensive ... she made excuses about lesson evaluations and about the lesson itself, saying that it had suddenly been changed, so she wasn't able to do what she'd planned... as I pointed out to her, as a P.E. specialist, she should be able to adapt to that situation and devise something appropriate ... she must have told me about ten times that her eyes were smarting from the chlorine, and that she was tired ... when I was talking to her, I wanted to get her angry, to make her say something, but she didn't; she just agreed with everything I said or made excuses. In the lesson criticism, I said I was disappointed, but that there was nothing disastrous about her teaching, she needs to be more dynamic ... In the lesson I saw last week, she got the class to talk about dreams for a while, and then left them to write about a dream for fifty minutes. Some of them finished long before that, but she . just sat at her desk and watched - though she did wander around once or twice. She seems to think teaching is about keeping the kids busy; so long as they are occupied, it's O.K., that's all you have to do. I wonder if she's aware that she isn't doing as expected?⁹

Paul Brown's comments on Kerry had the tone of an exasperated teacher attempting to deal with a recalcitrant pupil. From his point of view, Kerry was not working hard enough, she was lazy and made excuses, she was not 'dynamic'. Kerry was failing not so much on the grounds of teaching technique but because she was not demonstrating the personal and social characteristics necessary for effective teaching.

This is significant as it lends support to the view that the grounds for differentiation of student teachers, as for pupils, may be as much to do with social competence as academic or technical competence (Mardle and Walker, 1980).

This raises questions about the possibility of bias in making judgements and the significance of social factors such as class, gender and ethnicity for an understanding of tutor-student interaction and assessment processes. For example, gender has been recognised as a significant factor structuring interaction in other educational contexts and it is reasonable to assume that it has some significance in the context of teacher education. Thus Kerry's 'passive' and 'apologetic' resistance was regarded by Paul Brown as a personal failing on her part. His response was to try and provoke a more 'active' reaction from her by metaphorically 'slapping her wrists'. This comment in itself reflects a tutor-student relationship founded on both age and gender differences which generate inequalities of power conducive to unconscious sexism.

The significance of gender to an understanding of tutor assessments of teacher competence is also lent support by comparative consideration of Gerald Lewis's comments on Derek, a student who was not regarded as 'unsatisfactory' but nonetheless was perceived as experiencing some problems on school experience.

As we have seen in Chapter 6, Derek had some difficulties in P.E. classes in establishing his definition of the situation over the strong rule frame established by the class teacher. For Gerald Lewis the problems were of Derek's own

making: he had difficulty asserting himself, and in 'projecting his personality to the pupils'. This was so despite his having 'everything going for him, in that he's a big lad and looks older than twenty, but he's not making enough of himself'. Thus although Derek possessed personal and social characteristics which would lend him status and authority as a teacher (physique, age, gender) he lacked the underlying personality characteristics which would enable him to use these to his advantage. In Gerald Lewis's terms he tended to 'lack self-confidence, the ability to immerse himself in the job and lose his inhibitions'.

Gerald Lewis told me that Derek had been made aware of these problems by college tutors and the school staff. Accordingly Gerald Lewis said that what Derek really needed was a 'kick up the pants': he knew what was wrong and he was aware of the problem; he knew what he had to do and he should 'jolly well get on with it'.

A number of questions and issues relating to gender are raised by a consideration of these two cases, issues in need of much further research. First, although there is a growing literature on gender and education in relation to teachers and pupils, there is little analysis of the significance of gender for teacher education. The above cases suggest that sex-stereotyping and sexism exist in college (teacher education) as well as school contexts. This is a question of latent and unconscious processes which seemingly treat both sexes equally but which in fact reinforce, by failing to challenge, assumptions about gender which are taken for granted both in wider society and in

teacher culture. While Kerry is regarded as in need of a 'slap on the wrists', Derek requires a 'kick up the pants'. The extent to which these are instances of sexist assumptions and language is of course open to debate, but it does raise the question of how gender (and age) differences structure student-tutor interaction. The relationships are complex and need to take into account class and ethnicity as well, but as regards teacher education the interrelationship of gender and age is of particular interest.¹⁰

There is also the question of how far gender related characteristics influence the assessment of teacher competence. Beynon (1985) shows how pupils and senior teachers in Lower School regarded women teachers as 'soft', and macho disciplinarianism as a mark of competence. Again there are no simple distinctions which can be made: 'soft' male teachers are regarded with as much (more?) contempt as women teachers. However, the question is raised as to how far traditionally masculine characteristics ranging from physique to authoritarianism are perceived as assets in teaching - particularly in relation to the fundamental prerequisite of the ability to control the class. Teachers who lack such characteristics are seen as wanting in comparison.¹¹ The very use of the terms 'hard' and 'soft' to describe teachers has gender related connotations.¹²

The whole question of gender relations, sexism and sex-stereotyping in teaching is one sociologists have only recently begun to address. The data presented here suggest that the assessment of students as potential teachers is in practice centred on a narrow range of personal and social

qualities. These relate to self-confidence, work habits, 'dynamism' in the classroom and fundamentally, classroom control. The ways in which gender and other social relations shape such assessments is in need of further research. This is not to say social and personal characteristics are the sole criteria of assessment, but it is to argue that such criteria are the most fundamental and taken-for-granted. In short, if a student does not possess these attributes or meet these expectations, they are likely to be regarded as 'not making out' or, less seriously, as lacking in some quality necessary for good teaching. The important point is that the tutors' key constructs related primarily to aspects of the student's personality. The tutors appeared to think of and assess students primarily not in terms of technical competence but of personality attributes which were regarded as important to good teaching. Once this basic level of personal competence was confirmed, though clearly to varying degrees, the assessment of students might then move to more technical criteria of competence in specific teaching skills.

Paul Brown told me that on the second school experience, as well as looking for an extension of the qualities and skills expected in the first school experience, he also began to ask more directly whether the pupils were actually learning anything. I asked him how he could tell whether students were teaching, and pupils learning. It was possible he said, by comparing pupils' work with what they had done before, or by assessing the extent to which the pupils seemed to be achieving objectives set by the student.

I think I also look for the extent to which the class as a whole seem to be doing these things, and not just one or two pupils. I think that there's some intangible things too - difficult to put your finger on it, but you can judge whether a class seems to be taking it in or not - that's not very objective, but then perhaps it's not a very objective thing.

This is a clear statement about the assessment of the student teacher's competence: a tangled web of intangibles and subjective 'professional' judgements, together with more objective criteria and means of evaluating potential teacher competence. Tutors were concerned that students should conceptualise teaching in terms of pupil learning (see Chapter 3). The extent to which students did this could be assessed in a relatively straightforward way:

There are the students' records of what the pupils are learning, and that's quite important actually - do they actually record anything about pupils learning, or do they just keep a record of marks, which may not actually tell you anything ... I'd like to be sure that they know what their records mean in terms of pupils learning. I'm not sure they're very good at that. You sometimes find a lot of grades or marks, and I fairly consistently ask students what they mean, and, umm, sometimes they don't know, or sometimes they have fairly naive ideas of what the marks mean. I can remember writing - quite frequently over the last couple of practices - 'how are you making use of your records?', 'how are you actually taking the records that you've got and planning subsequent lessons?' I think that's a great weakness ...

Nonetheless, such technical weaknesses did not provide sufficient grounds for 'failure'. Before looking more closely at the grounds for a student's being assessed as 'unsuitable for teaching', I want to focus on the process by which students were allocated to schools for their blocks of school experience. In doing so we switch from a consideration of the 'educationist' context to the 'teacher' context.

School experience schools

A task facing the professional studies tutor three times ^{is} in the academic year/placing students in schools for each of the blocks of school experience. Given that the 'success' or otherwise of the students' school experience and tutors' assessments of their 'suitability' for teaching may depend in part on the school in which they are located, I was interested in how tutors chose schools for school experience and the process by which students were allocated to these schools.

Early in the academic year, Gerald Lewis, in his capacity as college tutor responsible for school experience, wrote to schools in the county asking whether they were willing to offer places for school experience and, if so, in which areas of the curriculum. In this way the schools and placements for school experience were determined by the schools. At one time every school in the county was approached as a matter of course, but, in a period of declining student numbers this was not practicable. Smaller

schools with fewer facilities, and those geographically furthest from the college were less likely to be asked to offer student placements. Students did sometimes end up in such schools, perhaps because they lived in that part of the county and/or because they had particularly requested a placement in a specific area or school. If the placement so requested could be arranged to the satisfaction of both the school and the college tutor, then it generally went ahead. However, in a situation where the potential supply of school experience places outweighed demand, and where students were not in a position to make specific requests, the professional studies tutors were able to choose schools and placements for school experience. There were two basic stages to the process by which students were allocated to placements, although often the stages were interdependent. The first stage involving the selection of schools was determined largely by the tutors' relationship with the school and its staff. The second stage involved the tutor in 'matching' student and school. I will consider each of these stages in turn.

Both tutors told me that they tended to use the same schools each year. These were schools which as Gerald Lewis said 'we are familiar with in the sense that we've built up over the years a relationship'. This was the main criterion used by the tutors in their choice of schools. For Paul Brown, the quality of the relationship with a school was somewhat intangible:

I go into schools where I actually get on well with the staff, and where the staff are prepared to give me a bit of time. There are some schools - can't put my finger on it - but there are some schools where you feel you can walk into the staff-room and sit down and not be stared at as a stranger, you know. Then in other schools, uhh, you knock on the door, you open it, and you know that either you're going to be stared at vaguely or, or people are going to ignore you, and not even say, you know 'can we help you?' Umm, you just feel uncomfortable. ... I suppose in a sense you have a blacklist in the back of your mind ... uhh, where ... you don't particularly want to go to some schools unless you're stuck for places, and then you'll go ahead and use them.

Paul Brown evidently found some schools more welcoming than others and avoided using those where he felt 'uncomfortable'. This was largely a result of whether he was made to feel welcome in the school staffroom, the place where as a regular but unannounced visitor he was most likely to have contact with school staff. Inevitably the more frequently a school was used for placements, the more opportunity there was for developing a positive relationship with school staff and for becoming known. For this reason, schools where it was difficult to build such a relationship were 'blacklisted' and schools used infrequently might be avoided because of the possibility one might be regarded with indifference or even hostility.

Gerald Lewis recognised that building a strong association with school staff was sometimes difficult because of elements of real or assumed disapprobation in the contact

between teacher educator and school teacher.

... you are an outsider coming into someone else's domain. You are putting yourself up, whether you like it or not, as an expert in teacher training, or in teacher training methods, and many, many teachers are slightly resentful about that, and therefore to some extent, there is an undercurrent and an element of 'oh, what's he doing here?' and 'is he coming in here to tell us what to do?' and so forth ... and therefore, umm, you have to be careful, and so you end up by being the diplomat, or at least I do, and I suspect a lot of other people do as well ...

The difficulty of establishing positive professional relationships with school staff is rooted, as Gerald Lewis seemed to recognise, in the culture of teaching. The culture of individualism which is part of the hidden pedagogy of teaching and strongly defended in teachers' claims to autonomy and competence is threatened by the presence of outsiders, especially those who have a 'legitimate' right to observe. Teachers do not like to be observed, particularly when such observation is explicitly evaluative. Hargreaves (1980, 1982) has argued these points forcefully in his analyses of teacher culture, showing how relations between colleagues in school are characterised by sensitivities in matters of status and competence. The teacher educator as a presence in school and even in the classroom can only serve to heighten such anxieties. As an 'expert' in teaching, with a high status occupation in the field of education and a legitimate mandate for observation and evaluation - though of course not directly of the teacher - the

professional studies tutor is likely to be perceived with some hostility. Gerald Lewis recognised these 'under-currents' of hostility. He acknowledged that building a relationship with school staff demanded sensitivity in managing the teacher educator role. Relationships with particular schools and their staff, built up over a number of years, were therefore likely to be more positive. Schools where, as Gerald Lewis put it, 'we've inbuilt our expectations; they've got to know us and we've got to know them'.

The relationship between the professional studies tutor and school staff was not the only factor shaping tutors choice of school. A significant factor was the way in which the school staff fulfilled their role in the student teachers' school experience:

PB: some schools don't appear to give the students as much support as others, they don't ... help them. They don't recognise that school experience is a fairly traumatic situation, that you have to burn the midnight oil a lot, and the demands from college ... that, perhaps don't recognise that as much as other schools do, and so I prefer to go to schools where students are going to get that kind of support, where demands are made, but, you know, there's sympathy ... schools that will be honest with you about students, and will also help the students, give them time, give them a decent timetable, read all the bumph that we send them, and try to apply it....

The willingness of school staff to be supportive of student teachers was an important criterion for tutors in choosing schools. Such support involved staff having realistic expectations of students as student teachers, recognising the

demands on students emotionally and in relation to workload and providing sympathetic guidance in line with the expectations of the college. Schools which failed to become acquainted with these expectations, via the 'School Experience Booklet' or through their relationship with college tutors were likely to be 'blacklisted'.

So, just as teaching was seen as dependent upon the development of good teacher-pupil relationships, so school experience was also regarded as dependent upon 'good relationships': between college tutor and school staff and between student teacher and teachers. Both tutors felt that schools with which they had developed positive relationships were also those most supportive towards students. This explains the tendency to use the same schools year after year. Schools where the staff regarded college tutors with a degree of suspicion or even hostility made the development of that relationship difficult for the tutor and were as a consequence less likely to learn what was expected in supervising and providing student teachers with school experience. Such schools thus tended to be avoided by professional studies tutors for school experience purposes.

Professional studies tutors had a basic register of schools used for school experience, avoiding schools with which they were unfamiliar or had previously 'blacklisted'. Avoiding such schools was not always possible. This is evident if we consider how students were allocated to particular schools. Finding placements was a question of matching student with school, and although it was experienced by

tutors as relatively unproblematic, it was an extremely complex process involving the balancing out of a number of different factors.

'Matching' students and schools

The 'matching' process involved many criteria, some of which were quite straightforward and might be regarded as relatively objective, while others were related to the tutor's assessment of students' 'needs', and might be regarded as more subjective.

The most basic consideration in matching students to schools was the offers of school experience places in relation to particular subject areas and age ranges. Schools sometimes made very specific requests. For example, Paul Brown told me one school that year had specifically asked for a P.E. specialist as they were temporarily short-staffed. A P.E. specialist was therefore placed in that school. Of course, offers by schools and students' specialisms did not always match up, and it was for this reason that approaches might be made to schools with which the tutor was not familiar or even schools which were 'blacklisted'. Sometimes a school which was frequently used for school experience might prove unsuitable for a particular student. This happened in the case of Francis. He had originally been placed in one school, but, according to Paul Brown, after a couple of preliminary visits, it became clear that it was unsuitable because he was working with a probationary teacher who 'wasn't very successful', so it was 'absolutely essential that we moved him, both for his sake and for the sake of the

'probationary teacher'.

Another 'objective' criterion taken into account by the tutor in placing students was travel. Most students had to be prepared to travel out of town on at least one of their school experiences, but care was taken not to create serious travelling problems. Partly for this reason (taxis were used by the college to get groups of students to and from school), and partly as a matter of policy, students tended to be placed in pairs or threes in a particular school rather than singly. Having two or more students in a particular school introduced constraints on allocation, for not only did the tutor have to match students and schools, but he also had to bear in mind the relationships between students within the group. For example, Paul Brown placed two mature students together for both their second and third school experiences, 'because they knew each other, were both mature students, and they could travel together from home ...'. Sometimes students expressed their own preferences regarding placements. In general, tutors were sympathetic to students' requests:

GL: .. just to give an example, if they'd been in, umm, a formally-run school, a very traditionally-organised school, and umm, seem to have been unhappy in that situation, although they hadn't had any disasters, you know, one might have got the feeling, and they expressed the view that they would much prefer to work in a slightly less structured environment, or perhaps in a more informally organised department or something, we would try to look after them, and find a school

that might be able to offer them those
sort of facilities on another practice.

Gerald Lewis felt a major criterion in allocating students to schools was students' 'needs': '[we] look at the student, and at his or her apparent needs, umm, and, as far as it was possible, try to put them in a school which meets these needs criteria'. This implied students were carefully matched to schools, but Paul Brown did not feel this was always an important consideration:

Sometimes it doesn't really matter where you put a student, they're going to be alright, it's going to be a useful experience for them. I wouldn't ... I wouldn't say that it's a problem trying to fit students into particular schools because for the vast majority of students it's not a major concern because they'll profit from the experience they'll get, but there are some instances where you feel it is important to try to place students in a particular kind of school, or avoid placing them in a particular kind of school.

For both tutors, the matching process involved some judgement of student 'needs'. However, as was implied by Paul Brown, only some students were regarded as having 'needs' which had to be taken into account. As Gerald Lewis said, for many students there was an element of 'arbitrariness'; all students were not clinically and carefully placed in a school:

... I don't wish to overemphasise or give a false impression that every student is carefully placed to a school, umm ... that, umm, a very sort of detailed investigative process beforehand ... one would have to say that there is an element of arbitrariness as well.

Often it was a matter of allocating the student to the only available offer of a placement in a school suitable in terms of subject and age range. Nonetheless, a number of students were carefully placed, on the basis of their assessed 'needs'.

Two basic strategies were discernible in the tutors' allocation of students to schools: 'protection' and 'testing out'. Protection involved allocating a student to a school placement which the tutor believed would provide opportune conditions for the student to demonstrate competence. The objective was to safeguard the student's competence. Meanwhile, testing out was about checking the student's competence. It involved an allocation to a school which would make demands on the student's ability to cope. Becky was 'tested out' and 'protected' by Paul Brown. Becky had been marked out as a 'good' student on her first school experience:

... with the good students, you want to place them somewhere they'll be able to show their real ability. Therefore I suppose I placed Becky Kemp out at Grampton because I thought she would really be successful there ... umm, I placed Mike Pearson and Becky at Silton High for their second one because they were both quite successful on their first, and I felt that it would be the right sort of challenge for them on their second. They both actually responded very well to it, umm, I didn't give them as tough a school on their final practice.

Becky's abilities as a teacher were 'tested out' on the second school experience in the challenge of a 'tough' school. Having proved herself, Paul Brown sought to provide her with the optimum chances of success by adopting a strategy of 'protection' in the choice of school for the

final school experience.¹³

'Protection' was not confined to 'strong' students. Paul Brown adopted the same strategy with students he regarded as 'weak' or as having problems:

I placed Adrian Moston at one school because I knew he would stand a better chance of success... the boy's school, where there's a fairly authoritarian regime operating, which gave him the sort of support he needed.

As an identifiable strategy in tutors' placement of students 'protection' thus involved allocation to a school defined by the tutor as 'easy', or, more accurately, 'not tough'. The strategy was adopted when the tutors wanted to ensure, or at least provide optimum conditions for, the student's survival. Underlying this strategy, and that of 'testing out', were two taken-for-granted typifications: the first of students as either 'strong' or 'weak', and the second of schools as either 'tough' or 'easy'. But what do these typifications involve?

Gerald Lewis quite deliberately 'protected' some students. He described how he had consciously 'protected' Derek in each of the three school experiences:

... he's a delightful chap, with many, many of the attributes I would want teachers to have and to display, and if I could endow teachers with some attitudes, some of the ones he displayed, it would be them; he was compassionate, he was humane, he was interested in children, he had a very nice manner with him, what he lacked was the sort of positive assertion/even 'aggression' (in inverted commas), which might at times be necessary in certain ... in a class management sense. Umm, and yet I saw

attributes in that particular student which I didn't want squashing, and therefore I deliberately throughout the three school experiences have protected him, in the sense that on each of the three school experiences he has been allocated to an 'easy' (in inverted commas), school. Umm, now I did consider testing him out and sending him to a tough school, but I suspect that it might have, uhh, broken Derek. And there is the philosophy 'make or break', but I didn't particularly want to break him, because I thought that he had a great deal to offer to teaching, and I would much prefer that he gradually and gently began to realise the importance of a bit more steel in his veins than would have happened had I thrust him in at the deep end of a very difficult school. I suspect that he possibly wouldn't have survived, and because of his other qualities, I think that would have been a shame.

Like Paul Brown, Gerald Lewis also used 'protection' as a means of ensuring a student's survival. Derek was placed in an 'easy' school because Gerald Lewis feared he might not have survived a 'tough' school. What is particularly interesting here is the implied and unspoken assumptions about what constitutes 'tough' and 'easy' schools. 'Tough' schools were those which created problems for teachers in terms of classroom management and control; 'easy' schools were not regarded as problematic in this way. By definition, allocating a student to a 'tough' school cannot constitute 'protection'. An 'easy' school gives the student optimum conditions for success. It is probably true that 'weak' students were more protected than 'strong' students, but there was no simple relationship between strong and weak

students and tough and easy schools. Strong students were protected for similar reasons to weak students - to ensure or optimise the student's chances of success; to provide conditions which did not strongly challenge their ability to cope. But what is a 'weak' student? Students were not unequivocally perceived as 'strong' or 'weak' by their tutors - Gerald Lewis' comments on Derek support this. Derek was only weak in his ability to control classes: he lacked the necessary 'aggression' or 'steel'. In all other respects Derek, as is evident from what Gerald Lewis said, was an extremely 'strong' student: he had qualities which Gerald Lewis regarded highly in potential teachers. 'Weakness' was virtually always defined in terms of classroom control. However, students weak in this sense did not automatically get 'protection'; Gerald Lewis explicitly stated that he considered 'testing out' Derek.

In attempting to uncover the taken-for-granted assumptions which lay behind the professional studies tutors' 'matching' strategies, we again reveal the significance of the hidden pedagogy and its basic premise of classroom control. The typifications, of students as 'strong' and 'weak', and of schools as 'easy' or 'tough', revolve around the notion of control. This is confirmed if we consider in more detail the strategy of 'testing out'.

'Testing out' as an identifiable strategy in tutors' placement of students was in many ways diametrically opposed to protection. Testing out involved placement in a 'tough' or 'difficult' school - by definition, allocating a student to an 'easy' school could not constitute 'testing out'. This

strategy was adopted when tutors wanted to stretch the abilities of students and/or confront them with something of a challenge. Like 'protection', it was based on an assessment of the student's needs, made by the tutor. Both tutors believed generally in the principle of testing out students with difficult classes, but this was to be carefully balanced with protection, and, as they emphasised, it depended on the student:

It depends upon the state, the state of development the student's got to. I mean, I wouldn't object to giving a student a difficult class on the final practice, because I think that's an important test, but on a second practice, I might say, 'well, I don't think that's a good idea for this particular student, to have a very difficult class'. O.K., give them a class where one or two children might be challenging, but don't give them a class of rebellious children, because they'll just take him apart. I mean, leave that for the final practice maybe. At least on the second practice try to give them a bit of confidence that they can handle classes, and that they can teach.

In principle, Paul Brown believed in testing out students with difficult classes, but he implied that such a strategy was generally more appropriate to a final school experience. On second school experiences, students needed a certain amount of protection in order to develop their self-confidence. This general statement of principle stands in contrast to the way in which Becky was allocated to schools on her second and third school experiences. Becky's 'state of development' was assessed by Paul Brown to be fairly advanced, and testing out was appropriate on her second practice. Testing out could, however, be justified on other grounds. Paul Brown

told me he sometimes put students in 'tough' schools, to sort them out for their own good'; with a 'weak' student it 'wasn't justifiable to give them an easy school'.

Like 'protection', 'testing out' may be a strategy applied to either strong or weak students. For strong students it represents a challenge in order to develop competence, particularly relating to classroom management and control skills. For weak students - remembering that 'weakness' is defined primarily in relation to classroom control - it represents a make or break means of determining the student's actual competence.

Testing out could involve a certain amount of risk for the tutors. Protection was generally a fairly safe option,¹⁴ while testing out could make demands which students were unable to meet. The decision to test out a student had to be made with a great deal of care. Gerald Lewis told me how he came to the decision to test out one student on her final school experience:

... one of the students performed, umm, err, quite well in a school, a relatively easy school, or two easy schools, on the first two practices, but I just had a suspicion that she wasn't really pulling out all the stops, and that she hadn't been put in a demanding enough school situation. Umm, and I thought there was more to her than she was showing, and she was coasting a little bit, so I made a decision to put her in a slightly more difficult situation, umm, to test her out.

MS: And was that successful?

Well, it wasn't successful [laugh] it was successful in the sense that it confirmed my view, but it wasn't successful in the sense that she didn't do as well ultimately as, umm, her potential and promise had seemed to show; so you could say that as a result of my placement she ended up not doing as well as she originally might have done, but on the other hand, what it did do was confirm my judgement that there had been an element of coasting and freewheeling, and that her promise, so called, had been a bit related to the fact that no demands were being made on her, and as soon as slightly more demands were being made, there wasn't as much underneath there as I think the practice had shown, so maybe it was successful in the sense that it was necessary to highlight that and to demonstrate that, but I suppose that she would say that it wasn't successful. In fact, you know, during the actual practice she did say, 'oh gosh, why have you put me here?' because things hadn't worked out so well.

The decision to test out this student was a result of Gerald Lewis's assessment that she was not 'pulling out all the stops' and that she was 'coasting'. Again the assessment was made on the grounds of the student's personal qualities, and not on teaching competence. There was explicit recognition by Gerald Lewis that testing out involved a risk for this student. In fact, the strategy did not work out from the student's point of view, since she did less well than she might have done had she been assigned to an 'easy' school

This discussion of the strategies used by tutors in the process of allocating students to schools draws attention again to the significance, in teacher educators' perspectives, of certain common sense assumptions about teachers and teaching. The data reported here point to the way in which typifications

of student teachers as 'strong' or 'weak' were related to judgements about students' personal and social qualities according to a narrow range of criteria. Such judgements, legitimated with reference to the concept of 'student needs', often formed the basis for allocations of school experience placements. Students were matched to appropriate schools via strategies of 'protection' and 'testing out'. This involved reference to taken-for-granted typifications of schools as either 'easy' or 'tough'. I have shown that both the typifications of the schools and of student teachers were implicitly bound up with assumptions relating to classroom control. The salience of the hidden pedagogy is again revealed.

This analysis supports Denscombe's (1982) argument that the hidden pedagogy carries great weight because it provides the grounds for estimating the practical competence of teachers:

the 'competence' of a teacher in the eyes of a colleague and pupils for that matter, is not something to be gauged in terms of the extent to which a teacher adheres to guidelines laid down in formal pedagogies. It is, instead, gauged in terms of the teacher's willingness and ability to adhere to the informal aims and methods of teaching which are intrinsic to the classroom context, and which respond to the practical demands of survival in class.

(Denscombe, 1982, p.258)

What Denscombe did not acknowledge, and through his failure to consider empirically actually denied, was the extent to which student teacher competence is also gauged by teacher educators in terms of these informal aims and methods of teaching. This is not to say that other more formal criteria relating to the technical skills of teaching are not also used, but it is to suggest that the hidden pedagogy

provides the fundamental yardstick against which teacher competence is assessed. This is further confirmed if we consider the process of formal assessment from the professional tutors' point of view.

'Unsuitable for teaching'?

Discussion of assessment criteria has so far focused upon what one of the tutors referred to as 'diagnostic' assessment. This pointed to a firm distinction held by both tutors relating to assessment and evaluation essential to their role as educators of potential teachers, and assessment formalised in a certificate at the end of the course. Paul Brown put the distinction clearly:

....you're not just assessing in a summative way; in other words, you're not just saying, 'they are good or they're not good' - it's diagnostic - you're trying to diagnose the strengths and weaknesses assessment in a formal sense ... I don't think that assessment really takes place, the formal grading-type assessment doesn't really take place until nearly a fortnight before the end of the course, but that doesn't mean you're not starting to think in that way beforehand, but you're not firming it up until the last fortnight - that's what I mean by it doesn't take place until the last fortnight. I mean, before that, it's all trying to judge what the strengths and weaknesses are....

In fact, students were formally graded as satisfactory or unsatisfactory at the end of each of the first two school experiences. For the third and final school experience, grades were awarded: Distinction, Credit, Pass and Fail. Although professional studies tutors did not take sole

responsibility for grading - subject studies tutors, school staff, and external examiners had important roles - this was felt by the tutors to be a particularly difficult and problematic part of their work. Whereas 'diagnostic' assessment was continuous and, because of its relative 'informality' regarded as proportionately less problematic, formal grading raised a number of doubts for tutors. This was partly to do with the fixed and summative nature of such grading, which was based to some extent on subjective judgments. It was also problematic because of the conflicting demands of what the tutors perceived as their personal and professional responsibilities.

The students were extremely concerned - in some cases obsessed would be a more accurate description - at first about the possibility of failure, and, later in the course, about their grade. In the final seminar of the induction course (the purpose of which was for the students to review that part of their course), at the start of the professional studies course, there was an opportunity for students to request information about the next year's work, and express their worries. A question from one student about whether Paul Brown told them early on if he thought they were not cut out to be teachers provoked fervent discussion about the possibility of failure. Paul Brown offered reassurances by saying that students in danger of failing the professional year were usually aware of it, and often removed themselves from the course. He went on to say students were also able to read the written report on their performance in school, and it came as no surprise to some who might be advised that

teaching was not for them. Furthermore, students with problems were given every possible help and support.

In reassuring the students, Paul Brown rather glossed over the problems and difficulties to himself and colleagues when faced with those students - a tiny minority each year - who at some point in the course are graded as 'unsuitable for teaching'. The difficulties surrounding this were spelt out by Gerald Lewis:

One tries to give that grade - as far as possible - as early as possible. But, again you're into an inherent difficulty here, that if you give it too early are you giving the student a fair chance to see whether they can in fact improve and change and alter; and, if you give it too late, you're subjected to....[pause] all the inevitable criticism that, you know, you've allowed this to go on too long and it's a bit unfair at the end of the day to say, 'no, you're not suitable'. So, if possible, one tries to give it either at the end of the first, or at least at the end of the second (school experience). Now, as it happens this year, umm, we've had three candidates who, in a sense, have been awarded that grade, although on the third practice it's called a 'fail', rather than 'unsuitable for teaching' at the end of their third, and that's unfortunate but, umm, in each of the three cases, or particularly in two of the cases anyway, there have been clear indications of concern before this third practice, and one might say the reading on the wall hasn't been read sufficiently closely....one's also been trying to see whether they are capable of coming through....

Deciding that a student was unsuitable for teaching was obviously of great personal importance to the student concerned, and, in recognising this, tutors were attempting to balance two conflicting pressures: the pressure to give

students every chance of 'making the grade', and the demand not to let students waste time on a course of training in which they were unlikely to be successful. Personal and professional obligations to both the student and the teaching profession were thus difficult to reconcile. In practice this meant that although there was a commitment to inform students of 'unsuitability' as soon as possible in the course (thereby encouraging the student to either withdraw or transfer courses) at the end of the year a very small number of students did in fact survive the course, only to 'fail'. This is related to a second aspect of the problem of grading recognised by the tutors:

GL: this is not a precise science that we're in; we're into professional judgement and experience, and although I would say that, umm, all of us have got that judgement, it isn't 100% accurate, because it can't by definition be so, and that all of us have from time to time been surprised one way or the other about the performance of students....

The tutors recognised that assessing teaching ability relies more on 'professional judgement' than a precise set of criteria specifically laid down and weighted. A formal set of criteria did exist, but, as we have seen, it was little more than a list of categories about which some evaluation could be made. Tutors had their own, more subjective criteria.

Paul Brown, for example, used 'two crucial acid tests' in assessing students on their third school experience. The first was whether he would allow his own children to be taught by the potential teacher; the second was whether he would, if he were a head of department in a school, appoint them to

a job.

... by implication, that means that they must be exhibiting all the general teaching skills they must be capable of identifying what it is they are trying to teach: objectives, they must have control of the class in terms of getting their attention, maintaining it at the appropriate times, providing them with appropriate activities from which they'll learn. It means that they should be keeping records, it means they should be able to manage a questioning session with the whole class, it means they should be able to respond to individuals and make demands on them, umm, it means in a sense having no failings in terms of, you know, a general list of teaching skills, recognising that they can't be good at all of them necessarily, but be showing competence in all the major areas. Umm, I think that's...so we're expecting them to stand on their own two feet and make decisions for themselves and justify them.

Professional judgements, it was acknowledged, depended, at least in part, upon subjective assessments against subjective criteria. In recognising this, the two professional tutors experienced the grading process as a difficult, but necessary, aspect of their work. For Gerald Lewis, the possibility that a student might improve and the recognised fallibility of professional judgement, meant that the decision to grade a student as unsuitable for teaching had to be as clear cut as possible:

It's a very difficult thing to say at the end of the first practice, or even at the end of a second, 'thou art not suitable for teaching and never will be'. It has to be fairly clear-cut for us to say that, and, on the occasions when I've given it, I have no doubt whatsoever that it was clear-cut and, in the main, students have recognised that fact themselves.

Gerald Lewis was confident about the possibility of making a definitive judgement about teaching competence - or rather incompetence - and also his own ability to make such a judgement. Paul Brown was more sceptical:

It's something that I'm very unhappy about, the business of, umm, making the definite decision as to competent or not competent. I'm not sure there is a very nice, neat dividing line - it's more like a jagged edge. It worries me a little bit that people want a cut-and-dried pass/fail. Not sure there's a way round it, because I think if you're at the coal-face and you've got all these inexperienced teachers coming in, you've got to know they can do the job....I can understand people who say, you know, well, you shouldn't pass people if they can't do the job at the end of three years, I can understand that.

Despite reservations about the possibility of achieving a clear-cut assessment of teacher competence, Paul Brown was precise about the grounds on which he would classify a student as unsuitable. This revolved around problems of class management:

Clearly, if someone cannot manage the class and they can't apply the sort of advice that you would give them about managing the class....and if they can't either try those things out, or, if they try those things out and they still don't work, then I think we've got a problem - and so a lot of it is class management, and often failings are manifested in, you know, lack of class control, but sometimes it's lack of class control not because they can't apply those things, which you might call discipline strategies, but often because the kids are bored to tears, or they're not learning, they're not being stretched, or they're frustrated because it's far too difficult, so sometimes

a student might be unsatisfactory because they haven't pitched the work right, they haven't been perceptive enough about the pupils to teach them effectively....if they can't put it into practice, then in a sense they're failing, but I think it's also important that they should start to see their own failings. If they can't identify their own strengths and weaknesses, if they're not perceptive enough to know that they have certain problems - especially on final experience - then you know you've got grounds for classifying them as unsatisfactory.

Again, teacher competence is defined in terms of class management and control, and incompetence is regarded as a personal failing on the part of the student teacher - in this case, a lack of perception. Ability to control a class is the most fundamental pre-condition of successful teaching - it must be present for certificated competence to be granted.

Given the fundamental importance attached to ability to maintain control in the classroom and the assumption that this responsibility rests with the individual classroom teacher, one might expect, as Denscombe (1985, p.41) comments, that 'clear guidance on what it is and how to get it' would be part of teacher education programmes. We have already examined the ideology of control embodied in the professional studies course in Chapter 5. This ideology focused on the prevention of control problems through general strategies of classroom management and fraternisation. Explicit guidance was rarely given beyond the emphasis on the development of 'good' teacher-pupil relationships. This is because how teachers establish control in the classroom is part of the taken-for-granted common sense of teaching. In short, not just the premise that control is essential to competent teaching

but what it involves and how it is to be achieved in the classroom is also largely unexplicated. This becomes apparent if we consider the professional tutors' view of their role.

Professional and personal responsibilities

Paul Brown and Gerald Lewis had essentially similar views of their work as professional studies tutors. This involved two main roles or sets of responsibilities. The first of these, and the one to which they attached greatest importance, was their pastoral role, and responsibilities to individual students:

I suppose there are - there's one fundamental ingredient to the role, umm, and that is to act as a, a continuous link for the students throughout their professional studies in education year - in other words, I think it's important that there is someone to whom they can turn and refer to and relate to, who can provide that sort of element of continuity throughout the year, umm, supervising them, helping them, assessing them from time to time....But I think during this particular course of study, during this particular year, students need it more than at any other time during their, certainly during their higher education - certainly during their B.Ed course, they really do need someone to whom they can turn, to whom they can relate, even if it's a taskmaster. It doesn't matter, because it's someone who is taking an interest in them and is caring about what they're doing, and there's no doubt at all that students appreciate that and need it, and that's one of the most rewarding aspects of the role, because you can see that you are performing a useful function.

This pastoral role of providing support and guidance was balanced by a more 'professional' role which involved developing students' teaching skills and assessing their competence as teachers. Paul Brown identified these two roles, but did not see them as necessarily distinct:

MS: How do you see your role as a professional studies tutor?

PB: Well, I think it's got two, it's got two, at least immediately I think it's got two main strands. One is acting as a personal tutor to students and therefore acting in a pastoral sense, counselling them, umm, getting to know them well, writing their confidential reports, umm, on their characteristics and qualities as well as their professional competence; and then the other main strand is, I suppose, is developing their professional skills - umm, teaching them how to teach, if you like. So, there are those two strands, can't think of any others. I mean, they're not necessarily, not necessarily distinct really, because they're complimentary in a sense, because a lot of the pastoral counselling things you have to do arise out of the other, the other side.

The pastoral and professional roles of the tutors were bound together in a complex interrelationship which was complementary and conflicting. For example, preparing for and supervising school experience was central to the development of students' professional skills, yet at the same time generated intense demands upon the tutors' pastoral role:

I think that while they are on school experience they undoubtedly need more guidance and more support and, umm, more help than they do in the in-college part, 'cause the in-college part is, to some extent, merely an extension of what they've been experiencing over the

last two years, although some of the assignment work is essentially different. Umm, it's still the same format, whereas when they're out in school it's quite a different series of expectations and activities that they're engaged in, and certainly, particularly initially, they do need more of this 'someone to turn to' role.

Both tutors, however, emphasised the inherent conflict which they experienced in their pastoral and professional roles:

One of the principal difficulties, really, is trying to balance being an objective, umm, assessor, evaluator of student performance, because in a sense you are, you and others, but you are being responsible for a professional judgement that says this person is fit to be licensed to teach for forty years and there's a heck of a lot of kids going to come under that teacher's influence, including, you know, that old cliché your own (children) possibly, and therefore, umm, there's quite a responsibility there that you have to exercise, and therefore you have to, in all honesty and appropriateness, exercise an objective assessment role, but at the same time you're also trying to carry out the pastoral role of trying to help and support and comfort, cajole occasionally and, umm, encourage, and there does occasionally come a point when those two things come into conflict, but that's just, you know, something that you've got to reconcile, and ultimately, the professional responsibility must over-ride your personal responsibility.

Providing support and encouragement for students at highly stressful periods in the course was central to the professional tutors' pastoral role. This involved the tutors' personal responsibility to each student. The tutors felt this sometimes conflicted with their professional

responsibility involving objective assessment of students' teaching competence. Conflict between the pastoral and professional roles was felt most keenly when dealing with students who were 'failing':

you can think of the chap who failed, for instance, you know - where do your responsibilities lie? Do your responsibilities lie to the profession.....or do they lie with the chap you're personal tutor for? So do you take a very sympathetic approach, or do you take a hard approach, do you say, 'I'm very sorry, but you know you're not making it, so you've got to pull your finger out and you've gotta get down, you've gotta do this properly' - which is what you're inclined to do as a professional tutor, or do you say, 'I can recognise the problems and the weaknesses', do you take a much more sympathetic view of it, and, umm, I think that ultimately you've, you have to take a professional view.

Like Gerald Lewis, Paul Brown maintained that ultimately professional responsibilities must take precedence over personal and pastoral responsibilities:

...all the time...I think the priority is that these people are going into a professional role, if you like, and therefore they've got to have certain qualities and got to have certain skills, and if they haven't got those, then there's no way they should qualify....

Implicit in this statement was a view that being a teacher depends upon the possession of particular qualities and particular skills. As we have seen this has been evident in much of the data relating to the professional tutors' perspective. From their viewpoint, teaching, and therefore the process of becoming a teacher, involved two analytically

distinct but inter-related strands: the development of personal and social qualities and the development of technical teaching skills. Both of these were legitimated under the maxim of 'professionalism' and regarded as essential to teaching competence.

The professional tutors' role in relation to each of these strands of the professional socialisation process was different and experienced as such. In relation to the development of technical teaching skills, the role of the professional tutor was well-defined. It involved teaching students to formulate objectives, prepare schemes of work and lesson plans, assess and record pupils' progress, display work effectively, develop skills associated with resource-based and mixed ability teaching and so on. In general, these were all skills which the student teacher had to acquire and which the professional studies tutor was able to instruct the students in. Moreover, the tutor could assess relatively objectively, through setting course assignments, appraising students' school experience files and direct observation in the classroom, the extent to which students were competent in these skills.

In relation to the development of personal and social qualities, the professional tutor's role was much less clear and correspondingly more problematic. As Paul Brown said:

Part of professional training is developing professional attitudes and, umm, taking responsibility and things like that. Well where does the pastoral side and the professional side separate out in relation to those sort of things? I don't know; I'm not quite sure.

What such 'professional attitudes' involve and how, or even whether, they can be developed by a teacher education course is open to question. For example, many teacher educators would agree with Gerald Lewis when he said:

If I can endow my students with anything during the year, it is, if you like, this feeling of enthusiasm and commitment which I would want all teachers to go out with, because if they don't have it at the start, it's almost unheard-of that they will acquire it on the way. What is likely to happen is those that start with it, unfortunately, in one or two, the light will flicker and go out, but I can't do anything about that, but if it's not there in the beginning, then that's disastrous.

It might also be agreed that such qualities are extremely difficult, if not impossible, to instil in potential teachers. Gerald Lewis admitted that:

clearly, although the qualities I've just said make up a good teacher, in a curious way many of them are things which I can't teach, but I can perhaps teach by example, in so far as I can. I mean, I do try, though imperfectly, like us all, but I try to be enthusiastic in what I'm doing, I try to show a commitment to my students, in the hope that they will see the importance of the commitment to them.

Personal qualities which student teachers bring with them to the college course can only be nurtured and encouraged by the professional tutors, nonetheless they are regarded as very important. Gerald Lewis states that it is 'disastrous' if these qualities are not in evidence. However, this raises the question of the extent to which qualities such as enthusiasm and commitment were in practice essential to

an assessment of teacher competence. While one would certainly not regard someone who failed to exhibit any enthusiasm or commitment as a 'good' teacher, it was not clear that the absence of such qualities would necessarily result in a judgement of incompetence from teacher educators. The importance of personal qualities for teacher competence derived more directly from the hidden pedagogy.

The emphasis which professional tutors gave to qualities such as commitment and enthusiasm can be regarded as deriving from the concerns of the educationist context. As part of the professional studies tutors' perspective such concerns were matched by pragmatically oriented concerns. In relation to judgements of teacher competence this gave rise to an emphasis on quite different qualities. This is because of the salience of the hidden pedagogy. The analysis presented in this chapter strongly suggests that student teacher competence was evaluated by college tutors in relation to the hidden pedagogy - primarily and specifically the ability to control the class independently of others. Given that the responsibility for classroom order is always placed with the individual teacher, it is assumed to be dependent upon the possession of certain personal and social qualities. These qualities are rarely made explicit, except in terms of the rhetoric of good teacher-pupil relationships and classroom management. This is not surprising, because as Denscombe (1982) points out in his analysis of the hidden pedagogy, it is an 'unspoken truth'; an implicit set of ideas about aims and methods of teaching which is 'rarely articulated or given credence in the sphere of educational

debate'. However, Denscombe emphasises that teaching competence in the eyes of colleagues and pupils is measured by reference to these informal aims and methods of teaching. The argument of this chapter is that it also provided the measure by which student teachers' classroom competence was assessed by teacher educators.

If this is the case, then the hidden pedagogy can be regarded as fundamentally shaping the hidden curriculum of teacher education. If the assessment of teacher competence was measured with reference to the hidden pedagogy, then it follows that the teacher education course had a hidden dimension which was pre-eminently about establishing the importance of, and developing the personal and social qualities necessary for, effective classroom control. It was hidden only in the sense that it was neither official nor explicit; it was certainly not wholly unintended or 'hidden' from either the professional tutors or the student teachers, but it was not, nor could it be, directly taught.

In large part, this is because the ability to establish and maintain effective classroom control is seen as dependent upon personal and social qualities which the student teacher either already possesses to some degree, or shows some potential for developing. Although ability to control pupils is taken as essential to teacher competence, teacher educators are in fact very limited in what they can do to ensure student teachers achieve this competence. This was recognised by Gerald Lewis:

In one sense you may just be bringing them out, you may be highlighting them, you may be, umm, ... could I give you an example? One of the best students we've had this year in my group, who ended up with a distinction, obviously had these ingredients there to begin with, he hasn't magically acquired them in the year, or I haven't given them to him or anything like that, but they didn't manifest themselves in certain ways in the first practice as obviously as they should have been doing. Let's take the control one, umm, it took some time for this particular student to realise, you know, his marvellous rapport and relationships with children, umm, the potential for those was not being realised totally because he wasn't yet putting them into a structured situation, and that some children were taking advantage of his kindness, his concern and his care and his very, very good teaching method of making things interesting and meaningful to children was partly being lost simply because children, his organisation wasn't as good as it should be, and his class management wasn't as good as it should be. He needed to realise that you needed to be a bit tougher without losing any of those underlying good qualities, and that so therefore these things had to be pointed out to him, and he then exercised them far more effectively, as a result of which the other things were able to in fact be demonstrated and he in fact ended up being a very good teacher.

This student already possessed many of the personal and social qualities regarded as desirable to the 'good' teacher.

According to Gerald Lewis, however, he was not able to use these qualities effectively because he was not exercising sufficient control over the classroom situation. The student needed to be 'tougher'. Gerald Lewis' comments imply that the student did possess the necessary qualities to exercise such toughness but was not sufficiently aware of the

importance of using them to effect. Once Gerald Lewis had drawn the student's attention to this he was able to assert a greater degree of control to establish a firm basis from which to foster the positive and meaningful relationships with pupils which were reflective of his caring qualities and technical teaching competence. It was in this way that the teacher education course effectively reinforced, rather than challenged, the hidden pedagogy.

To identify the hidden pedagogy as part of the hidden curriculum of teacher education is not to deny, as Denscombe argues (1982, 1985) that it derives from classroom experience and that it is this classroom experience rather than the teacher education programme which is the main influence on teachers' perceptions of teaching. It is the 'imperatives' of classroom life that generate the implicit pragmatic aims of teaching which constitute the hidden pedagogy. However, what Denscombe seems to forget is that this classroom experience is shared by teacher educators and thus the imperatives of classroom contexts will be recognised by them as important coping demands. This is why school experience is regarded by college tutors, as well as by students and teachers, as the most important aspect of the teacher education course. The lesson which is learned on school experience is the importance of the hidden pedagogy: the importance of effective classroom control:

a lot of them are absolutely determined when they start their second school experience to pay ninety per cent attention to management techniques and ten per cent to actually getting through the content of the first lesson, whereas when they go in on the first school experience, it's all content, you know,

how to teach them everything there is to know about the world, and yet they don't get their attention to start with, so there's no way they teach them anything. I think that's one of the significant things that happens to them. They really do recognise the importance of management, of actually getting attention, of getting order, and taking command - that's the significant thing, and that's the reason why they teach so much better on the second practice, 'cause they've actually 'got' the kids...

Classroom experience is thus essential to the learning of the hidden pedagogy. As a practical response to prevailing classroom circumstances it is learnt in the classroom and constitutes the deep-rooted, taken-for-granted, but unexplicated assumptions permeating teaching competence.

The hidden pedagogy is not therefore insignificant to the teacher education course. The apparent progressivism of teacher educators is but one strand of their perspective. This is readily explicated but it does not deny the importance of more pragmatic concerns. It is the latter (derived from the hidden pedagogy) which are seen as essential to assessments of teacher competence. As we have seen, this revolves around the ability to establish classroom control. This cannot be directly taught as part of professional socialisation because it is assumed to rely on personal qualities. Classroom experience is therefore of vital significance. Teacher educators do not counter this with their 'progressivism'; the hidden pedagogy remains central to their perspective.

Conclusion

'Control the class, then teach the class' (Haigh, 1979) is a tenet as much of teacher educators as it is of school teachers - and pupils. It is, as Denscombe has argued, fundamental to the hidden pedagogy of teaching which contains assumptions about classroom survival and provides guidelines for the assessment of teacher competence. Such a belief is part of 'what everyone knows' about teaching - including teacher educators - and it thus constitutes part of the commonsense of teaching.

In arguing that assumptions regarding classroom control are fundamental to the perspective of professional studies tutors, I have challenged those understandings of teacher training institutions and teacher educators which characterise them as emphasising permissiveness and progressivism and having little lasting impression or influence upon new recruits' attitudes towards classroom control. The characterisation of teacher education programmes and teacher educators in this way is, I would contend, a largely unexamined assertion¹⁵, or alternatively, is based upon extrapolations from the findings of student attitude surveys. On this basis, a number of studies have reached the conclusion that initial teacher education exerts limited influence because of its relatively weak socialising effect. Such conclusions rest upon the assumption that teacher education programmes do attempt to challenge commonsense notions about control.

This chapter has raised questions about such understandings of teacher education. I have argued that as sociologists we have at present far too simplistic and

monolithic a view of the ideology of teacher education programmes: variations and contradictions have not been explored; the possibility of a gap between ideology and practice has been ignored, and the structural and practical constraints which impinge upon teacher educators have not been investigated. We can learn from the study of the relationship between ideology and practice in other educational contexts. For example, Sharp and Green's (1975) exploration of the nature of socialisation in a progressive primary school produced new insights for the sociology of education:

Within child-centred progressivism, far wider ranges of the child's attributes become legitimate objects of evaluative scrutiny and explanatory variables in the construction of success and failure. Not merely intellectual, but social, emotional, aesthetic and even physical criteria are often employed in the processing of pupils in educational institutions...
(Sharp and Green, 1975, p.225)

This analysis in many ways echoes the findings of Sharp and Green. The chapter suggests that parts at least of the progressive ideology assumed to be common to teacher educators may be a rhetoric which legitimates the salience of the hidden pedagogy. Talk of classroom management skills and establishing 'good' teacher-pupil relationships and student 'needs' (the 'educationist' context of teacher education) are in practice referenced to classroom control and the maintenance of order (the 'teacher' context of teacher education). At the same time, the practical significance of the hidden pedagogy means that a wide range of personal and social attributes of the student teacher become a legitimate focus for evaluation.

Practical teaching competence is judged - by pupils, colleagues, parents and the public at large - in terms of classroom control. Teacher educators are no different in this respect. Furthermore, since responsibility for classroom control is seen to rest with the individual teacher, the personal and social personality characteristics assumed to be necessary for the maintenance of order are a legitimate and fundamental focus for assessment in relation to potential teacher status. This is not to say that no other criteria are used by professional studies tutors in assessing students' competence - there clearly are - but it is to raise questions about the extent to which teacher education programmes present a challenge to the hidden pedagogy of teaching, not least as assumed by Denscombe.

Notes

1. See, for example, DES (1983); DES (1984); DES (1985).
2. The difficulties and limitations of this research are reviewed by, for example, Dunkin and Biddle (1974); Getzeles and Jackson (1963) and Morrison and McIntyre (1973).
3. See Chapter 9 for student teachers' and teachers' use of these concepts.
4. All data in this chapter are from interviews unless otherwise stated.
5. Compare this with student teachers' evaluations of established teachers and 'commitment', Chapter 9.
6. We have seen it is fundamental to the ideology of control of the teacher education course (Chapter 5) and important to student teachers' teacher perspective (Chapter 7).
7. Extracts from fieldnotes.
8. This reference to 'getting wet' was part of Paul Brown's joking banter intended to put the student at ease. Such 'teasing' was a well-developed strategy used on visits to students in school.
9. Extract from fieldnotes.
10. There is a growing literature which considers the relevance of gender and age to teachers' careers. See, for example, Sikes, Measor and Woods (1985) and Ball (1987).
11. Cf. Beynon's (1985) data on pupils' typifications of their teachers.
12. Paul Brown claimed that Gerald Lewis had once failed a female student teacher 'because she was ugly'. He told me that this student 'really was ugly and miserable, an unattractive person altogether. I mean it does help in teaching if you are an attractive person, nice to look at etc. - but this girl had no redeeming character'. He claimed that in the end Gerald had to tell her of her 'anatomical defect'. Gerald Lewis would not confirm this story to me.
13. Interestingly, in retrospect, Paul Brown felt he had possibly made a wrong decision in adopting a protective strategy, because, although Becky did well 'she didn't do as well as I'd have hoped - maybe she'd have shined more in a more difficult school'.

14. See note 13 above.
15. Denscombe (1985) simply asserts that 'education professors are well known for promoting ideas about the job which are generally far more "progressive" in nature than the ideas and practices of those at the chalk face....' (p.43).

CHAPTER 9

STUDENT TEACHERS, TEACHERS AND 'PROFESSIONALISM'

The focus of the analysis of the process of becoming a teacher has so far concentrated on student teachers' relationships and negotiations with pupils and with college-based professional studies tutors. The process of professional socialisation has been conceptualised as one of learning to cope with and survive classroom life particularly in relation to the establishment and maintenance of a teacher identity. These are processes in themselves which can be threatened by the realities of school life. In facing both coping and survival problems, the role of pupils and of teacher educators as critical reality definers has been shown as significant. This however, is to neglect the importance of school teachers as critical reality definers.

Life in staffrooms and teacher-teacher relationships are curiously neglected gaps in our knowledge of school processes. Moreover, despite official emphasis on the involvement of practising teachers in the process of teacher education (DES, 1984; DES, 1987; HMI, 1987) there has been little sociological interest in the role of established teachers or the student teacher-school teacher relationship.¹ The importance of considering the role of school teachers in the socialisation of new recruits was implied back in 1932 by Waller:

The significant people for a school teacher are other teachers, and by comparison with good standing in that fraternity, the good opinion of students is a small thing and of little price. A landmark in one's assimilation to the profession is that moment when he decides that only other teachers are important.

(Waller, 1932, p.389)

The challenge in Waller's remarks, at least with regard to student teachers, are the subject of this chapter. The intention is to present a fresh perspective on this hitherto neglected aspect of teacher education: the student teachers' relationships with teachers in schools. As we shall see, for some student teachers, staffroom survival became as important as classroom survival.

Powerlessness and accommodation

From an interactionist perspective, school life is regarded as a continuous process of negotiation and adaptation. For student teachers, school life entails negotiations and adaptations complicated by their ambiguous status within the school. Although formally potential members of the teaching profession, student teachers are essentially 'outsiders' within the school, moreover outsiders who have yet to prove their competence to both pupils and teachers. The folklore about pupils playing up and sabotaging lessons bears witness to the ambiguity in the student teacher-pupil relationship (see Chapter 4). Whilst undoubtedly experiencing difficulties, most student teachers nonetheless, quickly overcome the reality shock and are at least relatively successful in defining classroom encounters as a setting for teacher-pupil interaction. In contrast, the formal relationship of student teacher and established teacher must remain a persistently ambiguous one. The student teacher on school experience is both teacher and learner; an honorary colleague, but lacking experience and credentials, and at the same time an apprentice

who has come for guidance and instruction. The label student teacher is quite literal. This must alert us to a consideration of the relative power of the two parties in the successful negotiation of school life.

The ambiguous, transitional and temporary status of the student teacher in the school makes their position vis-à-vis all school staff subordinate. The school staff with their varying degrees of practical teaching expertise and the inexperienced student, by definition gives the teacher a measure of formal supervisory authority over the student. Furthermore, school staff inevitably 'set the scene, make the ground rules and state the aims' (Woods, 1983, p.12). By virtue of their power, knowledge and experience of the school, the classroom and pupils, established teachers are in a strong position to define the situation. They may therefore expect student teachers not only to accommodate to, but to actively support established rule frames. The student teacher's inexperience and unfamiliarity with the school, geographically, organisationally and socially reinforces their relatively powerless status.

Student teachers at Haydon Park College were placed in schools by their professional studies tutors, and generally had little say about which school they were assigned to (see Chapter 8). Students were required to make three preliminary ^{the} visits to/placement school before the start of the school experience. These visits were intended to enable the student to meet staff, see children with whom they would be working, become familiar with the layout, organisation and facilities

of the school, and discuss the work to be undertaken.² The major purpose of these visits, however, was to organise the student's timetable and plan schemes of work.

Haydon Park College issued a booklet of information concerning school experience to schools (and to students and college staff engaged in teaching B.Ed. students) which noted the intended purpose of each of the three visits:

1. Familiarisation with the school as a whole - initial discussions on timetable and work proposed.
2. Detailed discussion with Heads of Department and/or other staff on schemes of work to be taught.
3. Discussion of draft schemes of work (and in some cases initial Lesson Plans) prepared by students in college between second and third visits.

The key word here is discussion. The booklet implied there was considerable scope for negotiation and consultation between student and school staff in drawing up the details of the student's timetable. However, the extent to which students were able to influence these decisions was, in practice, severely curtailed. First, the Haydon Park booklet issued to schools set out the college's expectations for the form and content of school experience:

i. First School Experience

As part of our programme we should like these students to have a general School Experience to begin with, not only because it encourages them to concentrate on general teaching skills rather than just their own narrow specialism, but also because it enables them to get to know one group of children fairly well over the four-week period, and see more progression and continuity of their work.

We should expect students to work alongside an experienced class teacher, contributing to the teaching of the class to which they are attached. Their programme, ideally, will consist of some Mathematics and/or some English, some of the students' own main and subsidiary teaching subjects (where these are different from Maths and English)

and some topic/project work if this is available. In addition, we should also like the students to have the opportunity of teaching their main subject to other classes in the school

We should like their timetable to be approximately 50% of an average teaching workload, and subject teaching with other classes should not normally exceed 6 periods a week.

ii. Second School Experience

We should expect students to work under the guidance of subject teachers in the school, taking some responsibility for planning and teaching their main subject to pupils of 11-16 years.

It might be possible (and desirable) to make up a student's timetable with the inclusion of other subjects. Most students have a subsidiary subject, and others could be included where the school is agreeable and the student feels confident.

We should like their timetable to be approximately 60% of an average teaching workload and their main teaching subject should occupy the bulk of this time where possible.

iii. Third School Experience

We should expect students to work under the guidance of subject teachers in the school, taking responsibility for planning and teaching their main subject within the 11-16 year age groups and, where possible, their subsidiary subject in the 11-14 year age groups. It might also be possible (and desirable) to make up a student's timetable with the inclusion of other subjects where the school is agreeable and the student feels confident.

We should like their timetable to be approximately 75% of an average teaching workload and their main teaching subject should occupy the bulk of this time, where possible.

These guidelines set the framework within which the student's teaching timetable was to be constructed. In fact, it is interesting to note that this part of the booklet, in contrast to other parts, was directed at the school rather than the student. Furthermore, it was also evident that, despite the consultative tone advocated in the booklet, student teachers were normally assigned to work with particular classes by teachers. Lacking appropriate knowledge of the

school, as well as any real status within it, student teachers were in no position to negotiate their timetable. Nor would they normally consider doing so:

Fay: I had some, umm, difficult classes, but when I went in, people didn't take enough ... because I just went in and said 'Oh yes, I'll do this, that and the other', and didn't kick up a fuss about it. And I met the classes and they were - I could see they were going to be quite a handful and, umm it transpired afterwards that the man who was in charge thought that I shouldn't have had these classes, because there were some very difficult classes in them.

MS: Who had given you the classes then?

Fay: The English department, and there wasn't a Head of English at the time. Umm, and I don't know quite what they based it on, whether they didn't want the classes or what it was, but they - I mean, I thought, well, I might as well do it for the challenge - they did give me the option to back out - Clive, who took this 3J I had, he said, 'well, do you want them all week?'³

Fay was allocated classes in the absence of the Head of English on her second school experience, and agreed to take them on, despite knowing them to be 'difficult' classes. She did not want to 'kick up a fuss'. It was only when the Head of English (that is the 'man in charge') returned and questioned this situation that Fay was given the formal option of changing her timetable. However, by this time Fay perceived the 'difficult' classes as a challenge. This was a rare instance where the allocation of classes had 'gone wrong' and the student given an option of adjusting her timetable. For the most part, however, students were allocated

the classes they would teach, and were expected to work 'alongside' or 'under the guidance of' school staff.

The extent to which individual school teachers in practice 'guided' or 'directed' students varied. Equally, the degree of guidance or direction desired by individual student teachers varied. On this point the college booklet gave guidance:

The most suitable overall programme will, of course, vary between individual students and different school situations and might be planned in consultation with each student's Professional Seminar Tutor.

We would request that during the first week proper of a School Experience a student be left alone with the class to take over all normal teaching responsibilities including organisation, settling down, clearing up etc. as part of the full teaching process. (Obviously there will be variations on this pattern. For instance during the first School Experience many students will no doubt welcome the presence and/or advice of the class teacher. Similarly, there will be occasions in all schools (e.g. P.E., Science) when school staff may feel it is both necessary and/or desirable to be present. To some extent, all this must depend on individual circumstances and wishes.)

Thereafter, we would request the class teacher to be in periodic attendance to help, advise, criticise etc. as seems appropriate and desirable but allowing the student as much opportunity to work on his/her own as possible.

There was some tension between allowing the student teacher to take responsibility for all that happened in the classroom as a teacher, which implied the absence of school staff, and the requirement to provide support and assessment, which must involve the presence of teachers. Although the college guidelines implied that there might be some negotiation with individual student teachers over this, it confirmed that decisions regarding such supervision were firmly the prerogative of the school teachers.

Teachers play an important role in assessing the competence of the student to be a licensed teacher. Each block of school experience resulted in a report on the student's competence, produced after joint consultation of tutors and teachers. To help the school staff, the college provided forms setting out the assessment criteria which they used to structure the student's written report.⁴ Of course, although the college provided detailed guidelines for teachers supervising school experience, there was scope for very different interpretations of what was expected, and ultimately such guidelines and criteria could be ignored. Nonetheless, the demands of the school and its teachers and the constraints imposed by the college, caused school experience to be a social setting that had only limited potentiality for manipulation by student teachers. The extent and variations in this potential are the subject of further discussion below.

It was also evident that the power differentials between student teacher and teachers, and the fact that the student was obliged to a greater or lesser extent to operate on the teachers' ground, ^{meant that} the student teacher-teacher relationship had to be carefully negotiated. It was a relationship of potential conflict. Woods (1983, p.11) notes that negotiations between teachers and pupils 'are not always peaceful, marked with goodwill and agreement to find common ground. They are often conflictual, marked by rancour and bad feeling, not only concerned to optimise one's own concerns, but to belittle the other's'. As we shall see, this was sometimes characteristic of student teacher-teacher relationships. Relationships between teachers, particularly as regards

informal, interpersonal relations are, however, a much neglected issue in the sociology of schools and teaching.

Staffrooms

There are very few studies of staffrooms. Hammersley (1980, 1981, 1984a), Woods (1979), Hargreaves (1972) and Burgess (1983) are notable exceptions. These studies have all tended to regard staffrooms as back regions; places where teachers withdraw and retreat at breaktimes and lunch-times; places where they can relax their official front and where it is possible to 'compensate for many of the uncertainties and difficulties of their job by neutralising, often in exceedingly humorous ways, the threats presented to their sense of competence and their conception of teaching' (Hargreaves, 1981, p.304). This tends to paint a picture of staffrooms as, by definition, relaxing and unwinding social settings. More recently Ball (1987) has argued for a micro-political analysis which regards the structure of social relations in the school as the product of 'ongoing tensions and rivalries, conflicts and realignments which are played out in and through both formal and informal types of context' (p.213). This alerts us to the possibility that the informal relations of the staffroom are likely to be based as much on divisions, conflicts, power and influence as they are on humour, relaxation and camaraderie.

Hammersley (1980, 1981 and 1984a) draws attention to these aspects of the informal structure of social relationships in the staffroom in his study of staffroom ideology at

Downtown School. He documents the building-up through conversations over a period of time of a collective ideology about pupils which accounts for the problems teachers experience in their work.⁵ He then analyses the functions of this collective ideology in relation to both seasoned teachers and student or probationary teachers, arguing that there is a great deal of influence on individuals to conform. For the student teacher or new recruit it is an expression of solidarity which provides security and reassurance:

When a teacher (admits to problems), other colleagues (in the staffroom) will usually offer reassurance by providing stories of their own or explanations for why that pupil or class is like that, thus opening themselves up to similar potential discredit. What is involved is a ritual of self-exposure and repair and thus the expression of solidarity.

(Hammersley, 1980, quoted in
Woods, 1983, p.74)

From the established teacher's point of view it is also important that new recruits are effectively socialised into the teacher culture because they constitute a threat. The student or probationary teacher's enthusiasm, idealism and hard work might result in what seem to be better results than usual. Hammersley notes the strategies employed by seasoned teachers ranging from denigration of 'idealism' and teacher training, to the threat of exclusion, which are used to enforce conformity to the prevailing staffroom culture.

Hammersley's analysis is interesting in the light of the concerns of this chapter, not only for the question it raises about the nature of staffroom culture and informal teacher relations, but also for those it implicitly raises about student teacher-teacher relationships. How and why do staffroom cultures and collective ideologies vary? Are all student teachers perceived as threatening? How do student

teachers themselves perceive and learn staffroom culture? Hammersley implies that the successful socialisation of newcomers is important, but his analysis was not directly concerned with the perceptions of new recruits to teaching. The findings of a number of research studies regarding the attitudes of student teachers, are often taken as evidence of successful socialisation into teacher culture, (see Chapter 1). However, one of the problems with such research and to some extent with Hammersley's analysis is a tendency towards an 'over-socialised' conception of the student teacher. Much of this research fails to take account of the possibility of resistance on the part of the new recruit. We should remember that individuals frequently resist attempts at domination, that they select from the models available and are capable of making independent judgements and choices. For example, staffrooms have been characterised by Hargreaves (1972) as places where a 'norm of cynicism' about education and educational ideas operates. However, given the lack of research, we know little about the forms and variations such cynicism takes. Moreover the question of how student teachers (and probationers) react to and cope with such cynicism also becomes important. This aspect of the socialisation of student teachers is ignored in the literature.

These themes are taken up in this chapter by considering student teachers' perceptions of the ethos and culture of staffrooms. This chapter seeks to emphasise the significance of resistance by focusing on sources of strain in student teacher-teacher relationships. In examining student teachers' perspectives regarding staffroom relations and teacher culture

we return to a theme introduced in Chapter 4 concerning the role of teachers as critical reality definers.

Friendly and unfriendly staffrooms

In their survey of probationary teachers, Taylor and Dale (1971) found that the general attitude expressed towards the probationer by the rest of the school staff was likely to be of crucial importance in influencing progress throughout the first year of teaching. 'In fact, many probationers estimated that, given a choice of a difficult staff or difficult children, they would much prefer to work with the latter' (p.159). It seems likely that student teachers too, will hope to be in schools where the teaching staff are friendly and helpful. Entering any new and unfamiliar situation involves a considerable amount of trepidation; staff who make one welcome and ease the transition by being actively friendly and supportive are likely to be a positive influence on the school experience.

In the course of interviews with students after periods of school experience, I asked them about the teachers and the support given by the school. Many of the students had extremely positive comments to make. Becky's comments on her first school experience were typical of these:

Becky: The teacher I was with, I would say he was excellent, he'd be, he'd be how I'd like to teach ... I liked all the staff, I thought they were great fun and they weren't, they weren't cliquey at all, they made all - there were three of us, three students in there, they made us all feel very welcome (...) All

the teachers I was with kept reassuring me all the time, saying, 'Oh you're doing all right; the main thing is to survive on your T.P.; don't worry about, you know, being brilliant'. But, of course, any ideas that I did come up with that they thought were particularly, umm, different, you know, unique, they used to kind of fall over backwards to help. Really, they were brilliant, very nice.

MS: So you would say that you got a lot of support from the school?

Becky: Ever such a lot of support from the particular teachers I was with.

MS: In what way, what kind of thing?

Becky: Just the, just the verbal encouragement, and also the teachers would always be available ...

A number of themes appear here which re-emerged in subsequent interview extracts and indicated the criteria by which student teachers made judgements about teachers. First, there was the evaluation of teachers' classroom teaching competence. Becky had explicit admiration for the teaching of the teacher to whom she was attached. However, several students were extremely critical of some of the teaching they found in school experience schools. Secondly, there was the friendliness and openness of the teachers - Becky found the staff at this school 'great fun' and not at all 'cliquey'. School staff and staffrooms were judged on the degree to which they made the student teacher welcome. The third criterion by which school staff seemed to be judged was in terms of the degree of active support and encouragement they provided. Becky was clearly appreciative of the reassurance, encouragement and availability of the staff in this particular school.

Implicit in Becky's comments and in several of the examples which follow, were the different expectations made of teachers in their relation to the student teacher. There were those teachers who worked closely with the student teacher in the classroom and would probably have a key role in their assessment. These teachers were expected to be actively helpful and supportive of students' classroom work, providing information and advice on practical and pedagogical issues. On the other hand there were those teachers who had little or no formal role in the student teacher's professional socialisation, but with whom the student came into contact in the school staffroom. Such teachers contributed to the general staffroom ethos, the significance of which was evident in a number of students' comments. Students who had visited their second or third school experience school were likely to make comparisons in these terms:

Julia: Warringham staffroom was so small, everyone had to be friendly ... I was terrified going there on my own at first, but it was so nice ... they made a point of talking in the staffroom and didn't make you feel as if you were a student ... but this is a big modern staffroom and everyone sits in their own department. And I don't like the teacher I'm with - she's not very friendly or helpful.⁶

On first impressions, the ethos of the staffroom in Julia's third school experience school was much more impersonal and formal and so compared unfavourably with the staffroom in her previous school. Having visited both staffrooms it was clear what Julia meant by friendliness and how it was extended to the newcomer. The staffroom at Warringham was, as my

fieldnotes record 'amazingly tiny and untidy'. It was packed with old and very worn armchairs, tables piled high with books and papers and some bulging cupboards. Even though there were only two other people in the room when Paul Brown and I visited Julia, she had to clear books from chairs so that we could sit down. It was impossible to hold a private conversation, and as was evident from the jokey banter and chat between Julia and the two teachers present, the ethos of the staffroom was overwhelmingly relaxed and informal. In contrast, the staffroom at Druton School was not only more modern and spacious, it was tidy and ordered. There were few books or piles of work (there was a separate workroom for staff) and the modern armchairs were neatly and uniformly spaced around the room. When Paul Brown and I visited the school the staffroom was occupied by two small groups of teachers and Julia working on her own. The ethos was much less informal than at Warringham: people hurried into and through the staffroom without speaking to those present.

For many student teachers a friendly staffroom was an important counter to the stress and tension of the classroom. Woods (1979) has discussed the way in which staffroom humour functions to neutralise the stress and problems induced by the formal requirements of the job of teaching. This seemed to be the case at Warringham School and at Jill's third school experience school:

I noticed at Briarley, one or two of the teachers acted really silly at break and dinner ...

MS: How do you mean?

Jill: Well, they had these stupid jokes and they were really funny and they really tried to have a good

laugh, as though you needed that as a sort of release, and that was lovely. And they used to play, umm, we used to go into the history room, and they'd be playing ball, you know, with a history book, and batting it all over the place, you know [inaudible] and I found that quite nice. I suppose that was a form a sort of release.

Staffroom camaraderie which included the student teacher helped them to fit in and feel a part of the school staff. As well as functioning to neutralise the tensions of classroom teaching, 'having a laugh' also indicated acceptance by the school teachers as potential colleagues. Such positive staffroom relationships were supportive of the student teacher's developing teacher identity.

Sara also reflected upon the importance of good student teacher-teacher relationships when talking about the staff on her final school experience which she regarded as her most successful. She attributed this in part to the support and backing of the extremely friendly staff.

The staff as I said, were very friendly - the staffroom was relaxed - it was just friendly. It had, there was a friendly atmosphere, and it didn't, it wasn't imposing at all. It was untidy, very relaxed, very informal and ... I didn't feel threatened.

MS: Did you feel the staff gave you a lot of support?

Sara: Extremely, yes. An awful lot of support. I got a lot of support and help from teachers who weren't looking after me, who weren't sort of supervising me, umm, teachers who didn't know me would just come up, introduce themselves, and start talking; whereas I think in other staffrooms - it is difficult obviously when you have somebody new, especially a

student and you know they are only going to be there for four weeks and they're nothing to do with you, so it's quite easy to ignore them - they might well feel that that's what you want anyway, and I think [pause] it was nice, it was nice to know that people were taking the trouble and taking an interest ... it made me feel a lot more confident.

Like other student teachers, Sara distinguished between staff to whom she was officially attached and who had a supervisory role, and those who were only encountered in the staffroom. For Sara the friendly and relaxed staffroom ethos was perceived as non-threatening and she clearly appreciated efforts to make her welcome. As Sara said, all this was supportive of her confidence, and ultimately a factor which contributed to the success of the school experience. But not all relationships with school staff were experienced and perceived in such a positive way:

Becky: I wouldn't say they didn't like us being there, but they didn't, uhh, they just couldn't be bothered really. They had three students in the term before, and they were fed up with having students in - that's the impression I got. And it really did ... even if you tried to make conversation with them, they didn't want to reply.

Jill: I feel sure that I shall enjoy this T.P. - the school is really nice - in spite of rather 'reserved' English staff. (I wonder if the (huge) size of the staffroom has something to do with the lack of communication?) although I can't really complain, and people are friendly when I make the first move.

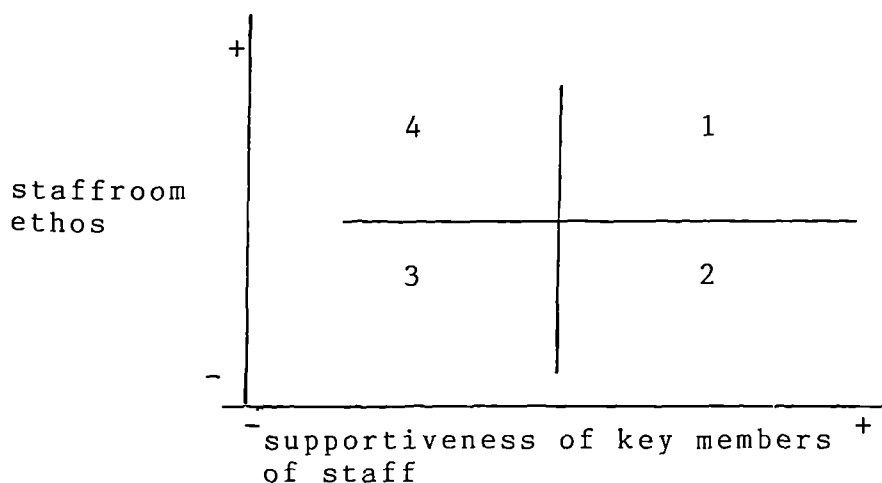
Rose: It wasn't a particularly friendly school, umm you'd go into the staffroom in the morning and

say 'Good morning' and nobody spoke at all (...) apart from my form teacher, who was really very nice. The rest weren't particularly ... interested in you, and they didn't particularly like you, and they certainly didn't include you in any conversation. No, you actually had to try to break into conversations sometimes.

These extracts relating to final school experience, contrast sharply with the earlier ones, emphasising as they do qualitatively less friendly and welcoming staffrooms.

At the risk of oversimplification it is possible to construct a basic typology of staffroom ethos and support given to student teachers by teacher supervisors. We can distinguish four possible situations based on the student teachers' perception of the friendliness of the staffroom and of the supportiveness of key members of staff.

Figure 4 Staffroom ethos and support for student teachers:
a basic typology



Key:

- 1: ideal situation: student teacher has active support from key members of staff and staffroom ethos is open and actively welcoming

- 2: although student teacher has positive support from key members of staff, the staffroom ethos is impersonal and student teacher feels excluded
- 3: extreme negative situation: little support or help from key members of staff and negative exclusive staffroom
- 4: little support from key members of staff but staffroom ethos is positively welcoming.

Where student teachers receive positive support and practical guidance from key members of staff (that is teachers to whom they were formally attached and/or who had a role in the assessment process) and where the staffroom ethos was based on a degree of camaraderie which actively involved newcomers, the student teacher was positively oriented to the school, its teachers and the school experience. Where student teachers not only felt themselves to be struggling without positive encouragement and guidance, and the staffroom ethos was unfriendly, the student teacher remained an outsider. This was likely to result in negative orientations to the school, the teachers and school experience. Such orientations were of course, not static but changed over time, developed in different directions at different times and with different teachers.

It is important to remember that all these data come from the student teachers themselves and are their own subjective perceptions of the staffroom ethos. The possibility arises that the characterisations of student teacher-teacher relationships as hostile or strained and conflictual were more a reflection of the student teacher's own personality or a result of 'failure' in interpersonal relationships on the student teacher's part, rather than an accurate characterisation of

real differences between school staff and staffrooms. Since there is little independent data on staffroom cultures, this must remain a possibility; however, the strong and vivid comparisons offered by individual students of different staffrooms suggested at least a partial reflection of real differences.⁷

The analysis presented here of student teachers' perceptions of staffroom ethos and of teacher-student teacher relationships reveals the staffroom as a less than relaxing and recuperative social context. It also draws attention to the essentially public nature of the staffroom as a school context for student teachers - if not all teachers. Cole (1984) alerts us to this when he comments that 'the staffroom may rarely be a 'back region' but is mostly another 'front region' where teachers feel constrained to contrive a particular presentation of self (...) the staffroom as well as the classroom, is a locus of tensions and conflicts where it can be a struggle to survive' (p.56). The staffroom, like the classroom, becomes a place to 'survive' in that relationships with members of the teaching staff have to be carefully managed and negotiated. During interviews with student teachers, a number of sources of tension in their relationships with teachers kept re-emerging. The first of these concerned the expressed cynicism of teachers towards the college training course and towards pupils.

Teacher cynicism

One of the ways in which the teachers studied by Hammersley (1980) ensured the conformity of new recruits was to denigrate the college course. A number of student teachers in my study came across similar attitudes in their contacts with teachers. This involved implicit and cynical criticism of the college, its staff and the teacher education course. It was a source of tension in relationships with teachers and thereby required strategic negotiation. The ways in which student teachers reacted to this denigration - and in some cases ridicule - of the college, depended in part upon whether teachers were perceived as friendly.

This was evident in Becky's accounts of critical and cynical attitudes of teachers on her first school experience (whom she perceived as extremely friendly and supportive), and those made by teachers on her final school experience (whom Becky found to be correspondingly unfriendly and unsupportive):

The teachers at the school, they tended to say.
'Oh what they tell you at college isn't what it's really like'. I don't know ... it was what I expected really, because I used to live with third years, and they told me about their T.P.'s and they said 'the teachers tend to say that what you're taught at Haydon Park College is unrelated to the actual classroom' ... well, it is - I mean - but so what? I don't think that matters. Well, I think it is related, but in such an ambiguous way ...

Of the teachers in her third school experience school, Becky said:

And they were really critical of the college and the tutors, and even Paul, saying that college lecturers are teachers who can't teach and don't know what they're talking about ... and it's like a driving test: you have to learn to pass the test, and then you learn to drive - that teaching's just like that (...) But it's awful when they're being critical of college and tutors, because you really can't say 'Oh, come on now, you're talking a load of rubbish', - 'cause I think Paul's a really good teacher and Gerald Lewis - excellent teachers, but then - they're so narrow and set in their ways (...)

MS: What do you say when they're being critical of the college?

Becky: Well you don't agree or disagree, you just say something non-committal - you can't do anything else really.

Becky expected a certain amount of criticism of college by teachers, having been alerted to it by the students who had already been on school experience. She was able to shrug off and define as unimportant the relatively mild criticisms implied by the teachers' comments in her first school. She agreed with them in part but rejected the attitude of dismissal and the implications of irrelevance. In contrast, the personal and denigrating criticisms made by teachers in the third school were a much greater source of conflict. Even though she rejected the validity of the criticisms, Becky felt powerless to challenge the teachers, and found herself constrained into a strategy of strategic compliance. In her account of their criticisms, Becky was, however, very critical of their competence as teachers.

Other students met similar criticisms of college staff and they too felt powerless to challenge them. Mike found that teachers seemed to assume 'every college lecturer is a failure in school' and this was the 'only reason they have taken a college job'. He too felt that it was politic simply to ignore such criticism: 'you can't do anything about it'.

Defining the college course as irrelevant and college lecturers as lacking practical teaching competence are instances of the well-documented cynicism of teachers who feel much teacher education is remote from the reality of the classroom (Wiseman and Start, 1968; Hannam et al., 1976). The organisation of teacher education courses has historically sustained a division of labour with lecturers as the theorists and teachers as the practitioners. The latter have as a consequence been in a more subordinate role within the training process. This is in line with conceptualisations of knowledge which accord abstract knowledge much higher status than practical skills (Webster, 1983) and which form the basis of the anti-theory, anti-college attitudes of many practising teachers (Webster, 1983; Denscombe, 1984; Inman et al., 1983). Interestingly, most studies of student and probationary teachers find it is the supervising teachers' approaches and views which provide their reference rather than those of the college tutors (Yates, 1982; Hanson and Herrington, 1976; McPherson, 1972). However, this finding was not supported by my study. None of the students who commented on the attitudes of teachers towards the college expressed agreement with the cynicism.⁸ Most felt like Sara:

I had a bit of trouble with one teacher in particular - Head of English - simply because she seemed, I don't know, to have something against college lecturers. I found this in general terms throughout the school, that they felt they were very different to the college lecturers, and that their ideas were very different, and what the college lecturers told you didn't fit in with their sort of method and the school system itself. I found that I was protecting my tutors, I felt a need to protect them ...

MS: To defend them?

Sara: To defend them, yes. Yes, just from, you know, conversations - teachers who were cynical about tutors and about the role of the tutor.

Explicit, denigrating cynicism towards college staff was resisted by student teachers. Although most students felt unable to challenge the cynicism directly, it was experienced as a source of tension in already strained student teacher-teacher relationships, and as a consequence had to be strategically negotiated. This was also true of cynicism expressed by teachers towards pupils.

A number of student teachers expressed definite dislike of attitudes towards pupils expressed by teachers in school experience schools. There was often implicit recognition on the part of students of a staffroom culture involving cynicism, both towards the children, and teaching. Such attitudes disturbed the student teacher and made them feel uncomfortable in the staffroom. Sara told me about the teachers on her first school experience:

... they were friendly enough in the staffroom, but what they had to say about the children themselves, umm, put you off a bit and made you feel a bit apprehensive towards them (...) All they spent their time doing, moaning about the children - not the parents - they didn't seem to ... but they did have, there were set things they had to say about certain children, and they'd got files on them, and, 'Oh, so and so, he's a problem child', and 'he's a nutter', and that was their attitude, which I could understand in a way, because the children were very difficult. But, umm, I don't know, it just, you weren't sure whether or not they were testing you - saying those things to try and see what your reaction would be - or whether that was their attitude as a whole to teaching.

The typifications of pupils employed were a source of tension in Sara's relationship with the teachers. Although she conceded that the pupils were 'difficult', came from 'a fairly rough area - or at least it seemed so to me', and were socially deprived, the typing of the children as 'problems' and as 'nutters' was rejected. It was not simply a resistance to the validity of these typifications and the attitudes towards pupils which they implied, but the way in which the teachers used such typifications in their conversation with Sara. Sara's feelings of anxiety about her relationship with the school staff stemmed from a suspicion she was being 'tested out' through the use of 'extreme' and thereby provocative pupil typifications.

The typifications Sara referred to have much in common with those described by Hammersley (1984a) as in use in the staffroom of Downtown School. Indeed, a number of analyses of teacher cultures find a shared 'deficit' and psychologistic

view of pupils (Hammersley, 1984a; Beynon, 1985; Chessum, 1980). Hammersley analyses the rhetorical function of such typifications as a means of defending teachers' collective sense of competence in the face of threats posed by the behaviour of pupils. Interestingly, it is this function of staffroom talk about pupils to which Sara alluded in her criticisms of the school staff:

... a lot of the children, most of them came from a very deprived area, and I think the teachers placed - I mean obviously you've got to, umm consider that, but I think the teachers placed too much on it, too much importance on it, and used it as a form of - as an excuse for not really making the lessons any different to what they were.

Sara regarded the attitudes expressed by the teachers about the children as evidence of a cynical and less committed approach to teaching. Jill too, was critical of the attitude to children expressed by teachers at her first school experience school:

... there did seem to be the attitude that, umm, you know, a lot of the staff didn't like the children very much at all, and perhaps I'm a bit more sensitive - I am fairly realistic - I know there are some horrible kids around of course, but ...

She gave examples of what she saw as insensitivity towards pupils on the part of teachers:

One of the fellows, the gym master, P.E. chap, was reading this letter out that a mother had wrote [sic] about her son's shorts that had been lost. And he was being so nasty! He was correcting all the spelling mistakes and making a great joke, and everyone was laughing, and saying, 'would you look into the matter?'; 'I'm not looking into his shorts!' And [laugh] I know it could be, it was funny, but he was being nasty,

and the woman was a one-parent family, her son had lost his shorts, she couldn't afford to buy him any more. I don't think that was very nice and, umm, one or two things like that ... The Head of Second Year (...) was far too sarcastic, and critical with the children and very unapproachable, she was an absolute ogre, and just the way she taught the children, himiliated them ... I didn't like her attitude.

For Jill, the cynicism of the teachers towards pupils was unacceptable: she felt them to be particularly unfeeling. The first example above, is a good instance of the kind of staffroom humour which Woods and Hammersley found in their studies. Jill did not however, perceive this as the tension-releasing humour of a relaxed staffroom camaraderie. Rather it was seen as a reflection of the teacher's general dislike of children. Jill regarded the attitudes and (in the second case in particular) the responses towards the children as deplorable. She did not like the picture of teachers to which she was being exposed and resisted it:

... whether I, I mean I can't believe, umm, that all teachers are like that; I mean, I know they're not, but whether I was just unfortunate that there were quite a number of teachers there that did seem very cynical, umm, and I wouldn't have thought that necessary, especially in quite a nice area where the majority of the children were sort of ... you know, it wasn't as though they had a lot of problem children that they perhaps had turned off children ...

Interestingly, Jill's own assumptions about the possible causes of teacher cynicism were exposed. Implicitly, she distanced herself from this kind of cynicism and in this way the teachers constituted a negative reference group. This

was also the case for Becky.

Becky was critical of what she perceived as a general lack of commitment on the part of teachers in her last school. Her criticism was vehement, and she was very concerned at the effect the staff had on her own commitment to teaching:

... the staff themselves didn't really have any outlook on anything; they didn't really involve themselves, they just wanted the day to be over ...

MS: So, did you feel they weren't very committed to teaching then?

Becky: Ummm ... no, I didn't think they were, I can't think of one that was really commit ... I can think of one - Grace Smith, Head of the Maths Department, she was - a single lady, she was really committed, but all the others, just none of them ... The Head of English just wanted to retire at the end of the year, get an early retirement and go fishing, and umm, the second woman in the English Department, she was too; she came to and from Calston, and all she ever talked about was her journey into school and her family, and wasn't really into teaching at all (...) No, they didn't seem committed, no. (...)

They were just real - God, they were so bloody narrow-minded - all of them! School really was a 9 to 4 burden for them, and I'm never gonna be like that. And they've really put me off teaching - damn them! So annoying ...

MS: So you're less committed to teaching at the moment than you were?

Becky: [pause] (reluctantly) Yeah - oh, I don't know. I am committed, I am committed to teaching. I love it. I do. I know I do. But, God, if I ever get a job in a school like that one, I won't be!

'Commitment' is a concept often used in relation to teachers, in the sociological literature and by teachers. It requires some examination. Commitment as defined by Kanter (1974, p.126) 'refers to the willingness of social actors to give their energy and loyalty to social systems'. This definition is very similar to the way in which teachers use the concept (Nias, 1981).⁹ As Becky's comments implied, it is associated with investment of time and energy and an attitude of involvement in, and loyalty to, the school, the pupils and teaching (Nias, 1981; Woods, 1979). Woods (1979) notes that there will be variations in degree, type and range of commitment. Sikes, Measor and Woods (1985) in their study of teachers' careers, suggest that as careers progress there is a shift from vocational commitment based on dedication to a set of educational ideas, through professional commitment based on professional advancement and/or subject-based teaching to an instrumental commitment where teaching is simply regarded as 'a useful career to be in'. At the same time, there is a corresponding weakening of intensity of commitment.

It was these differences in type and degree of commitment which Becky appeared to be critical of. Becky's relationships with teachers on her final school experience were extremely strained, and her comments in part reflected that strain. Nonetheless, she emphatically distanced herself from their view of teaching and was determined to maintain her own vocational commitment and idealism in the face of what she perceived to be a hostile environment. In this sense, the teachers constituted a negative reference group.

Other students were also adamant they would not become like some of the teachers they encountered in schools. Mike was critical of attitudes he perceived on the part of teachers towards low-ability children:

... there was one lad in my first year group who I'm convinced can do more work, but everybody says that he's a failure, just leave him, just let him get on with the work he's doing in your class, and if he sits there and does nothing for an hour, then that's alright. I couldn't accept that.

MS: You don't think that you'll become that way; that teaching will change you?

Mike: No, I hate to think that I would. I like to think that I give everybody a fair chance of doing it, and that means the lower ability range.

MS: But they say that teachers become cynical.

Mike: I'm cynical now (...) I'm not cynical in the way that I teach, I'm cynical in the way that other people teach ...

MS: Would you have been critical then, of some of the teaching that went on in this school?

Mike: Yeah, I would. But I didn't say anything, I mean, it's not your job to say anything ...

Like Becky and Jill, Mike rejected the attitude to pupils implicit in the teacher's advice and was determined to maintain his own standards of commitment and idealism. He too differentiated between, and distanced himself from, some of the attitudes and pedagogical assumptions he found in school. The staffroom culture was partially and selectively rejected, although it was evident from Mike's last statement that such resistance had to be kept hidden and private. This derived in part from the status and power differentials

between teacher and student teacher. The former had legitimate authority to criticise the latter, but not vice versa. Since one of the primary goals of the student teacher was to have a successful school experience, and ensure a good school experience report, explicitly criticising or challenging school staff was likely to be seen as a risk which threatened the attainment of such goals. For this reason students' reservations and rejections of practising teachers' viewpoints were kept private; strategic compliance (Lacey, 1977) was the predominant strategy. Moreover, the 'powerful cult of individualism' in the occupational culture of teachers (Hargreaves, 1980) defines teaching as a private activity which goes on 'in camera'. This inhibits mutual evaluation of teacher competence. It was for these reasons that student teachers felt it necessary to privatise their criticisms.

The criticisms of teachers and staffroom culture tell us less about what teachers and staffrooms were 'really' like than what student teachers felt it was legitimate to expect from members of their future chosen profession. In effect, student teachers were calling into question the 'professionalism' of the teachers they met in school. In doing so, they effectively insulated themselves against challenges to their idealism and commitment, and ultimately against attacks on their competence as teachers, and their own teacher identity. The necessity for strategic negotiation in relationships with teachers highlights the power dimension of teacher-student teacher relationships and the potential for conflict in those relationships. These themes are developed as we turn to a consideration of the more formal, supervisory aspects of this relationship.

Justified and unjustified criticism

It has become part of the folklore of teacher education that it is teaching practice which counts, rather than the college course. Certainly, student teachers place high value on their school experience and expect to get a great deal out of it (Morrison and McIntyre, 1973; Cope, 1971). School experience involves not only learning by practice, but also learning from experienced practitioners and demonstrating competence to teach. We have already seen that students expected and welcomed advice and guidance from teachers with whom they worked. It is now important to make clear that they also expected criticism.

A number of writers have referred to teachers' jealous guarding of their autonomy behind the closed door of the classroom (Lortie, 1975; Hargreaves, 1980). This means that teachers' pedagogical competence is rarely directly observed and assessed by colleagues, although their professional competence is not immune to assessment. Denscombe (1980) has argued that teachers assess one another's performance by reference to prosaic criteria such as the noise emanating from the classroom. The immunity to direct observation and assessment is not, however, accorded to the student teacher in the classroom. Teachers in their supervisory capacity have authority to observe, assess and even to write a critical assessment of student teachers' professional competence. Student teachers may also find themselves in a position to observe established teachers in the classroom, but this is essentially at the discretion of individual teachers and there is certainly no corresponding authority to assess or criticise.

Assessment is a key aspect of school experience and inevitably involves elements of criticism. Such criticism is institutionalised in the education tutors' written lesson commentary or 'crit' as it is sometimes called. Criticism represents a possible threat to the developing self image of the student as teacher and constitutes a potential attack upon professional and personal competence. At the same time, it is an accepted and expected part of school experience. Although criticism per se is institutionalised into the process of professional socialisation, the legitimacy or otherwise of specific criticisms is dependent upon not only the objective content, but also upon the perceived meaning and context. In talking to student teachers about their relationships with teachers, it was evident that they made firm distinctions between fair and unfair, justified and unjustified criticism. Student teachers' perspectives on school supervision and assessment by teachers were rule based. Although they had a basically supportive and positive orientation towards the teachers and the process of assessment, if the implicit rules were broken, then resistance to, and conflict with, teachers might result. We now turn to a more detailed consideration of the rules structuring student teachers' perspectives on assessment.

Communicating criticism

Schools and teachers varied quite considerably in terms of the level and style of observation and supervision of student teachers. In most cases, students were observed on two or three occasions by the normal class teacher of those classes they were taking and in addition perhaps (and on different occasions) by the Deputy Head or other senior teacher with designated responsibility for student teachers. There was, however, variation around the common pattern. For example, on his final school experience, Francis was observed by one teacher whenever he took her classes. He was unhappy about this, and felt that it 'knocked me back a little'.

Some schools and some teachers, however, adopted a very informal approach to their role, negotiating with the student about the amount of supervision:

Becky: (...) they said to me, 'look, do you want us to be in the classroom with you or not?', and I said I'd prefer it if they weren't there. And then they'd tend to pop in about every twenty minutes and get something from the back and just check up, and it was nice to know they were there...

Mike, too, was happy with the unobtrusive style of his surveillance - though it was expected that the teachers would somehow keep an eye on what was going on in the student's classroom.

I wasn't ... I wasn't watched as such in the classroom. The teacher would occasionally walk past and glance in to see what was happening, but didn't come in to watch me because he felt as if, you know, I'd got the kids there, they were down and working if he went past, so

he didn't have to. Occasionally he'd walk in. He walked in in one of the lessons, and I asked if I could do anything for him, he said, 'I'm, umm, just nosing'. Walked in and out to see what was happening. But that, uhh, that I expect; I mean, they've got to know what we're doing.

Mike was a student I found to be particularly confident about his own teaching abilities. Talking about the three school experiences, he always gave the impression he was happy to get on with the job in the classroom, and needed little help. This was particularly the case with the final school experience:

MS: And did they give you plenty of support?

Mike: Oh, yes, plenty of support - but, I don't know, they encouraged but they didn't really interfere - they...they didn't ever try to tell me anything, being on final T.P. They just let me get on with it, which I wanted to do. You know, get in there, get to the start, get to the end of the practice, they decided then.

MS: Did they sit in on your lessons very much?

Mike: A couple. You know, one teacher came in twice, the rest came in once. They seemed quite happy.

MS: Were they critical or...

Mike: No, hardly at all. I think the only criticism I got was, 'could I have opened a window?', and that was the only criticism I got.

Mike was happy with the level of supervision because his own confidence was high. 'Interference', which would seem to include virtually any kind of criticism, advice or guidance, would not have been welcomed. It appears Mike was already beginning to guard his professional autonomy. I did, however, ask him whether he felt the teachers should have been more critical:

Mike: I think they should have been. I mean, at this stage, with what grade I eventually got, they could have helped me to get a grade higher, which in the end they thought I was too intimidating to the kids, or that's what came out in my report, which was fair enough, 'cause I was wishing to do well, and that's my method of teaching.

MS: Did you feel the criticism was justified, then?

Mike: Not in the relationships I had with the kids, because one teacher came in on my last day, she'd been in earlier, seen me be really tough to make sure I was in control of the class. Then, on the final day, it went really well. I mean, it was fun and everything - everything to do with maths that I like, and once you've got the kids there, you can do anything with them.

Mike was very definitely a cue-seeking student.¹⁰ He was anxious to get the best grades he could for teaching practices, and was disappointed when he finally just missed a distinction. This seemed to have concerned Mike, as he felt he could have been helped to gain a distinction by the teachers (and the college lecturers). He regarded the teachers as having failed to alert him to weaknesses in his teaching, and therefore not giving him a chance either to work on those weaknesses or to defend himself against the criticism. Mike was not so much making a complaint about lack of criticism, but rather that the teachers had not allowed him the opportunity of countering that criticism. By the time the teacher came in on the last day to witness the 'fun' lesson, Mike's report had already been written.

Becky was also extremely unhappy about the fact that teachers on her third school experience obviously had criticisms of her teaching, but did not communicate them to her. In this case, however, Becky seemed to accept the criticism as justified:

Becky: (...) I had a maths group that were third years, and they were taking their 'O' levels a year early. They were really quick, and I didn't really extend them enough, apparently. I really don't know how I could have done. I mean, I got it written on my report, but during the time I was there, the maths teacher never said to me that she thought I wasn't extending them; she didn't take me to one side and say, 'why don't you prepare some extra work for so and so and so and so?' So I didn't have any idea that I wasn't stretching them enough.

Such comments suggest that while students accepted and even expected criticism, its legitimacy was dependent upon content and presentation. From the student teacher's perspective, it was important that criticism be communicated to and discussed with them. Criticisms which appeared as new and surprising revelations in the school's report were felt to be unfair, for the student was powerless to redeem or defend him or herself. As Becky went on to say:

... what I did expect and what I didn't get was, umm, a nice kind of friendly talking to about how I was getting on from the staff. They tended very much to go off into their own departments, 'cause there were three people in the maths department and three in the English, tended to have conversations about me and not tell me what I was doing wrong.

That was what I gather in the end - well, I think they must have done, for things that have come back since then, they must have talked about me quite a lot between themselves, but not actually to me.

The way in which teachers criticised students was important: it had to be open criticism. Student teachers, no less than anyone else, disliked the idea that they were being unfavourably discussed behind their backs. Criticism was expected, even desired because it was regarded as part of learning to be an effective teacher and few students thought themselves flawless in that respect. But if the student was not made aware of weaknesses, they could do little about them - and it was the unfairness of this which they rejected.

Constructive criticism

Criticism was also rejected if perceived as unhelpful. Rachel had firm ideas on acceptable and unacceptable forms of criticism. She compared the styles and strategies of support and evaluation given by teachers and college tutors on her first school experience. Rachel maintained she was 'thrown' by her tutor's criticisms because lessons which she felt had gone badly had been praised, while lessons into which she had put a lot of time and effort and which she thought had gone well, had been criticised. In comparison, she felt that the teachers were:

more willing to accept what you're doing rather than criticise it, and the points that you criticise - they asked me first anyway how I thought I'd done - and the points that I criticised and I felt went

badly, they took up and told me why they thought they went badly, you see and things like that - which was far more constructive to me because ... and the good points they said 'yes that was O.K. but ...' and then they could add something else to that which is much more constructive to me ...

Rachel's comparison of the support given by college tutors and teachers was interesting as she was the only student teacher I interviewed who reached an unfavourable comparative judgement of college tutors. This was in direct contrast to the findings of some recent surveys which conclude most student teachers value the contribution of school-based teachers in the supervision process over that of college tutors, especially in terms of the validity of the evaluations (Yates, 1982). Rachel was however, an exception among the student teachers in this study. Her comments suggest she was concerned not so much about the content of the criticism as about the way it was presented. Finding college tutors' assessments of lessons at some considerable variance to her own evaluations and simply presented as authoritative and definitive judgements, Rachel questioned their validity. In contrast, by asking Rachel to give her assessment of the lesson first, the criticisms made by the teacher(s) were legitimated and there was space to reach a negotiated evaluation of the lesson.¹¹ Rachel said she found this strategy more 'constructive'; a comment that reflected the positive relationship with staff which Rachel felt she achieved.

It was important to students that criticism was 'constructive'. Some students were very critical of what they felt to be unhelpful or contradictory criticism made

by teachers. For instance, Jill was unhappy not only about the form of criticism offered by one member of staff in her final school experience school, but also about some of its content. This criticism was made by the school's Head of English, a man with whom Jill found difficulty getting on, as this extract from a diary kept by Jill during part of her school experience shows:

I have been feeling uneasy about my relationship with Fraser Hanson [Head of English] - I don't seem to be able to communicate with him and don't know if he approves/disapproves of what I'm doing. However, felt a little better as I helped with bookshop at lunchtime and young teacher (can't remember his name) was very chatty (...) - he said - nudge, nudge, Fraser can't talk to women (!) but I felt better and have noticed he's not too chatty with most of the teachers - who are mainly women.

The lack of communication made Jill feel uneasy, but the discovery that this teacher also appeared to have difficult relationships with some of his teaching colleagues made Jill less anxious. In the interview after school experience finished, she told me more about Fraser's style of supervision:

... he was quite critical of me and he used to come into my lessons and take notes, sort of 9.01, 9.02 and then he'd sort of be writing down everything I said. He told me the first time he came in, he said 'I'm going to be critical' and I said, oh, you know, 'Oh that's fine, I obviously want some feedback', but he was quite destructively critical, like some of the things he said you know were, weren't constructive.

MS: What kind of criticisms was he making?

Jill: Umm, well he criticised my size! [laugh] which was, well a bit difficult. Umm, sort of 'why did you say that?', 'I didn't like this', without really giving a reason. He criticised me for being well organised and having the material, and he said you, a teacher, you know, you should go in and do what you feel, you see.

MS: Oh, so being well organised was a fault?

Jill: It was a fault in his eyes, yet once I did go, umm I went in and intended to do something, and I didn't do what I intended to do because the children found those extracts I was doing boring, so I didn't carry on with what I was going to do with them. I did something else and he criticised that, he said 'you don't stick to what you wanted to do'. So I don't think I could've won really with him.

Jill did not find Fraser Hanson's evaluation very helpful. She found the content of his commentary on her lesson contradictory and even destructive. Like all the students, she welcomed feedback from teachers, but felt the criticisms made by Fraser Hanson were unjustifiable, unsubstantiated and contradictory. Not only this, but she found him difficult to talk to. Since Fraser Hanson was Head of English, and nominally in a supervisory and assessing role, the strained relationship and the negative criticisms were a source of concern, as the following diary extracts from the fifth week of school experience show. The strained relationship with Fraser was offset by the positive relationships and feedback from other teachers.

Monday 7th June

Getting on very well now with the staff - even Fraser was reasonably friendly today. I have decided to either totally ignore him - and his opinions - or to say exactly what I feel, even if I disagree with him. (Fraser was rather critical about my lesson of two weeks ago - but I have had more positive feedback from David and Gina, who have sat in on lessons - and I know myself I am confident and have good relationships with children so have ceased to worry about him.)

Wednesday 9th June

Although the dreaded Fraser was quite friendly today - he gave me some exercise books (!) - and I ventured to ask him something (very daring), oh dear, he says he's coming in to watch another class - perhaps tomorrow. Am I up to the '9.05 - a hasty start; 9.07 - why did you say this?; 9.10 etc. etc.'? I wish he'd forget his notebook. Still, I know myself that I'm not that bad, and I could criticise him and some of his staff if I wanted to - which is silly and petty and I'm getting as bad as him!

Jill was anxious about her relationship with Fraser Hanson who in his role as school experience supervisor was important. Jill's anxiety however, stemmed not simply from the specific content of his criticisms but from the potential threat to her self-image and teacher identity which the criticisms constituted. In order to cope with this, Jill defined his criticism as contradictory and 'unconstructive' and therefore as unwarranted. The discovery that some of his colleagues also found him difficult to relate to and that even their teaching was not above criticism, helped Jill resist the potentially damaging attack on her personal identity. Moreover, the fact that there were alternative sources of positive feedback on her teaching, was vital in the preservation of her self-image.

It is in this way that the continuous interplay between personal and social identities is central to the development of a substantive teacher identity among student teachers.

Student teachers' preoccupation with self-adequacy and the validation of significant others are intimately bound up with one another. The costs of unfavourable evaluation by supervisory teachers (or college tutors, or indeed pupils) are very high. The risk is not only one of loss of self esteem but ultimately of failure of the teacher education course and of personal and professional investment in a chosen career path. Resistance to onslaughts upon claims to teacher identity are not surprising. Moreover, the relative success of such defence may be crucial to the student teacher's personal identity and to their commitment. While Jill was apparently 'successful' in preserving her self-image on the final school experience, for Becky the attack she experienced was both more fundamental and more damaging.

Becky felt she received a great deal of unjustified criticism from teachers on her final school experience and consequently her relationship with many of them was precarious and necessitated a considerable amount of strategic negotiation. We have already seen Becky was critical of what she regarded as a lack of 'professionalism' on the part of some teachers in the school, but what did they think of her? Interestingly, it was Becky's own 'professionalism' that was called to account.¹²

On a school visit with Paul Brown to observe Becky, I was able to sit in on a brief discussion between Paul, the Head and Deputy Head concerning the formal, graded assessment of students' school experience.¹³ The Deputy Head was the person designated responsible for the supervision of student teachers and in this capacity had observed lessons. He

collected reports on student teachers from each teacher who had observed lessons and from these he would compile a final report for the college. After some discussion of the mechanics of this process, the conversation turned to the difficulties of grading students and then specifically to the difficulty of grading Becky. The Deputy Head expressed some uneasiness about this. Although there was little doubt regarding Becky's general classroom competence, there was some question about whether she had demonstrated an appropriately 'professional' attitude and demeanour outside the classroom. I took no part in the conversation, which, as the following extract from fieldnotes shows, was essentially a careful and polite interchange between Paul Brown and the Deputy Head.

The Deputy Head then said that some of his staff had commented on Becky's dress, questioning whether it was quite suitable. He said that he had not noticed this himself - 'but perhaps I go around with my eyes closed!' He said that he had had a word with Becky about this and she had 'quite taken it to heart and was very subdued for a couple of days; in fact I accused her of sulking, but since then she seems to have bounced back'. Paul Brown made polite noises and said that a professional attitude was very important. The Deputy Head then went on to question, in effect, Becky's professionalism. He said that some of the senior staff had been unhappy about her using first names, and felt that she had been a little too quick to call some of them by their first names. 'Part of this professional attitude is knowing how to address pupils, how to address members of staff in the staffroom, how to address them in front of children, how to address members of staff as contemporaries, and how to address senior members of staff - there is a difference'. He suggested that these 'lapses' of Becky's were signs of immaturity - 'after all she's only 20/21'. Throughout this, Paul Brown makes concerned comments: 'that's quite worrying'; 'that's rather disturbing'. In response to the last remark, he said that he found it surprising, since Becky had been one of the last of the group to call him by his first name at the start

of the year. The headmaster commented that there was a large transition from student to teacher and getting the balance right between formality and informality. 14

Both Paul Brown and I found these comments about Becky somewhat surprising. Becky had been very successful on her previous school experiences. This portrait of someone who seemingly lacked any sense of 'professionalism', dressed 'unsuitably',¹⁵ and 'sulked' did not match the Becky of previous school experiences who was always smiling, energetic and regarded by tutors and teachers as a potentially very good teacher. The comments made by the Deputy Head about Becky indicated her relationship with the teachers was severely strained. The sources of such strain had little to do with technical teaching competence, but concerned the teachers' perceptions of Becky's so-called 'professionalism' assessed with reference to her dress and her manner of addressing senior staff. Becky was not only upset and angry about these criticisms but resisted them with considerable bitterness:

It really upset me. I was nearly in tears. I mean, they were such little finnickky things, and so petty, and the Deputy Head even said 'well between you and me, I think so too' - but this really upset me and, of course, when you know someone said this, you wonder all the time who it was, and I couldn't talk to them properly then ... really, I was only trying to be friendly and fit in - but they just didn't really want you to ... They quite hurt me, actually, that school you know, they quite upset me, the kind of things they said ... I don't know ... I don't really think they were justified though, that's the thing. [Angrily] those teachers, if they've got nothing better to do with their time than go to the

Deputy Head and say 'we don't like the clothes this student is wearing...'

Becky regarded the criticisms as without real justification. The comments on her dress angered her in their pettiness, while those relating to her 'familiarity', she simply saw as a rejection of her attempts to fit into a hostile staffroom. She consequently blamed the teachers for the difficulties she then experienced in relating to them amicably. Becky was in effect indignant about what she took to be an attack on both her personal and her professional worth:

I mean, one of the teachers put down on my report: 'late coming to lessons', as if I kind of went and had a fag or something in between, but it was because - they have thirty minute lessons, so you have two before morning break and one of them I'd be on one side of the school, and then I'd have to be up in the mobiles for the next one, and the bell goes at ten, and when the bell goes, you've literally got about thirty seconds to be in the next classroom.

Undoubtedly, the combination of unjustified criticism and a particularly strained and tense relationship with the teachers served not only to undermine Becky's confidence but represented a challenge to her personal and social identity as a teacher. Becky felt she was unfairly blamed for the difficult relations with the staff. She regarded the criticisms as unjustified, without real substance and reflective of the teacher's antagonism towards her as a student teacher and an outsider. Unable to question her technical teaching competence, criticism centred on Becky's persona - criticisms legitimated in terms of the notion of 'professionalism'.

The assessment of student teachers is again, apparently, dependent upon an evaluation of their personal and social characteristics (see Chapter 8). For Becky, these criticisms not only represented a challenge to her teacher identity but fundamentally to her self-image as a particular kind of person. In this sense the criticisms threatened her self-esteem, having a profoundly negative effect on her feeling of worth (Hargreaves, 1972). This was also the case with Paula on her second school experience.

As in Becky's case, I had the opportunity to sit in on a meeting between Paul Brown and the Deputy Head of the school to which Paula was attached. My fieldnotes describe the Deputy Head, Miss Roote, as a 'formidable woman who sits behind her desk and has a very officious manner'. The following extract from fieldnotes indicated a strained teacher-student teacher relationship:

Paul Brown says that he thinks that Paula and Abbie seem to be getting on fairly well; they represent two very different teaching styles, but he says, he is fairly pleased with them at this stage. Miss Roote is reluctant to agree: 'I don't know, they've had some problems'. PB says that Paula can have a rather aggressive manner and finds it difficult to relax. Miss Roote pounces - 'it's Paula's personality: she lacks a sense of humour and it's no good going into teaching without a sense of humour - you might as well give up now'. PB says that he is aware that Paula has had some difficulties, but he now sees signs that she is beginning to relax ... small signs admittedly, but 'she's doing better at this stage than I expected'. Miss Roote does not seem convinced, she says that Paula has received a lot of help and advice during the first week - 'she seems convinced she hasn't, but she has' - only Paula does not listen to advice, unlike the student from Holmfirth College; Paula always tends to butt in and defend herself. 16

In the car on the way back to college, Paul Brown said Paula had been a problem as she was very anxious to please and at

the end of the first school experience, had 'pestered' a teacher who happened to live near her. As he said to Miss Roote, Paula's teaching strategies were good, but she needed to relax, to smile more and have a joke with the class. He said he thought she was unable to do these things as yet because 'that's just the way she is'. Moreover, since he had got to know her he could detect signs of progress - but 'I suppose that's balanced by the more objective approach of the school ...'. In the meeting with Miss Roote, I had received the impression she did not regard Paula as suitable for teaching, but this was certainly not a view shared by Paul Brown. His perception of Miss Roote's judgements was likely to be influenced by his assessment that she was something of a 'dragon - I bet she never lets anyone get away with anything'.

Having observed Paula teach a first-year history lesson on the occasion of this school visit, I knew she was far from being an incompetent teacher in the classroom. Like Becky, the assessment by the school - here represented by Miss Roote - apparently related much less to her technical competence in the classroom than to personal and social characteristics: her sense of humour, her relationship with staff and her general demeanour. Miss Roote's criticisms related to the kind of person she perceived Paula to be and, by implication, took the view that without certain personal characteristics individuals were unlikely to make competent teachers. .

Although Paul Brown indicated certain scepticism regarding Miss Roote's judgements, he must have felt them justified enough to include some negative criticism in Paula's

school experience report. This became apparent when I joined Sharon, Becky and Paula in the coffee bar one day soon after the end of the second school experience. Paula had just been to read her report and discuss it with Paul Brown. It was clear to us all that this had been upsetting because she was close to tears. Becky and Sharon expressed genuine surprise when Paula said her report had been 'bad'. Paula tried to explain:

I don't know if I've failed. I didn't ask. Paul said that technically I was very good, but my problem was relationships with staff and pupils (...) But it doesn't take into account clashes with the staff - all the responsibility for the relationship is put on you - the student - they never think of it from the other side - the staff side (...) They didn't like me, they didn't try ...

Becky: You'll just have to relax and enjoy yourself on the next one.

Paula: But it's hard to enjoy yourself if you aren't and I didn't enjoy that T.P.at all (...) I think I'll be better on the next one, 'cause then I'll be on my own and I won't feel pulled in relating to other students and staff. 17

Here we find Paula's perspective on her relationship with the school staff and in it her resistance to what she perceived as unjustified criticism. She also draws attention to the fundamental problem for student teachers as regards relationships with teachers: it is the established teachers' definitions which count and which carry weight. In a relatively powerless position and subject to formal assessment, one criterion of which is 'relationships with staff', responsibility for those relationships rests firmly with the

student teacher. As Paula said, 'they never think of it from the other side'. Like Becky, Paula sought to shift the responsibility for 'failure' in the relationships back towards the school staff, although implicit in her last comment was the suggestion she might have made greater efforts.

'Interference'

One of the most fiercely and widely held tacit rules underwriting the student teacher-teacher relationship is that the latter must under no circumstances challenge the student teacher's authority concerning pupils. Interrupting the course of a student's lesson; intervening in disciplinary matters or any other form of 'interference' which serves to undermine the student's relationship with pupils is regarded as both unacceptable and unjustifiable. Such interference may result in, or be symptomatic of, interpersonal conflict between student teacher and supervisory teacher, and can have serious consequences for the student's progress towards teacher status.

Kathy felt she experienced a 'clash' with a teacher on her second school experience as a result of such interference. Kathy had been given some biology classes that were normally taken by a teacher in her probationary year and apparently this teacher was not happy about giving up her classes to a student teacher:

The first year group that I had, it turned out she didn't want to give me them 'cause she didn't want to lose contact with them, so the first four lessons I had with them, she was there and she sort of sat in the class and she wasn't just observing, she

would sort of interfere, she would tell some off and things like that and even talk while I was teaching. And a lot of the time they'd put the questions up and ask her, put their hands up and ask her, not me, so I had to have a word with her and she said - first of all she didn't see my point, then I said 'well, look, they're responding to you not me', and she said 'oh yes, yes maybe'. Then she - she insisted to be there on practicals so that was - you know that was O.K., but at umm, one point we were doing reproduction and - you just have, umm have a discussion about reproduction for the whole lesson [laugh]. Well, I mean, this can get a bit embarrassing, so of course the other first year teacher left me alone, but she wanted to be in on the lesson. Well, I really didn't feel that I wanted her to be; so I said I'd rather she didn't - which is the first time I'd sort of refused her, so she sort of got up and stormed out of the staffroom.

For Kathy, this teacher's conduct in the classroom was unreasonable and interfering. Since she insisted on being present, instead of making her presence in the classroom as unobtrusive as possible, thus allowing Kathy to establish her teacher status with the class, the teacher appeared to be reluctant to give up her own role as teacher. She made her presence felt by disciplining pupils, when she felt it necessary and by responding to their questions. For Kathy, this served to make the process of establishment even more difficult than normal. Recognising she must tread carefully, Kathy attempted to negotiate with the teacher by explaining her own position in relation to the pupils. This was not totally successful because the teacher still insisted on being present for practicals. The conflict eventually reached a

head when Kathy found it necessary to ask the teacher not to sit in on a particular lesson. This was an attempt on Kathy's part to negotiate and strategically redefine the situation to her own advantage. However, strategic redefinition inevitably carries a degree of risk for student teachers: its success or failure can be an important influence on the assessment the student receives from the school. Kathy felt she received unjustified criticism from this teacher in the written assessment submitted to college.

... in my report she put, umm, 'cause I actually saw the bit she wrote - this wasn't put in my official report, but she put I didn't like being observed, which, fair enough, I admit to that, so she put: 'so, it is difficult for me to write this report', which I don't think was fair, being as she'd watched me all the time. And then she put: 'Kathy doesn't like to take my advice, maybe it's because she thinks I have nothing to offer her being a probationer'. Now, the thing was like, I can only think of one example, but, umm, I showed the children how to do this experiment, they were all sat on the desks, so she said, 'Next time you do it, it's best to gather them around, it's easier'. So, of course, next time I did. You know, I'm not the sort that doesn't take advice, and I know you've got to be tactful in schools, so I don't know where the heck she got that from.

For Kathy the difficult relationship with this teacher resulted in a negative formal assessment. Kathy perceived the criticism as unjustified because it distorted what she saw as the facts of the situation and gave a false impression which reflected badly on her personal integrity. Here again we have an example of criticism perceived as an attack on the student's self-esteem and her personal and teacher identity.

Kathy resisted the attack and was in fact able to call on the support of her tutor to discount the written comments of the teacher when he compiled her final report for the school experience: 'He said it didn't sound like me, and he thought that there was a clash. I said "Yes!"'

Fay was also able to call upon the support of her professional studies tutor in coping with a difficult situation on her first school experience stemming from a strained and tense relationship with the form teacher of the class to which she was attached:

the children were going - because obviously, because of the way I was treating some of them, some of them must have been finding it frustrating because it was different from what they were used to, and they were going behind my back to her and sort of, well, you know 'Miss Watts has done this' and 'Miss Watts has done that' and instead of coming to me and saying 'Look, David has been to me and said this, I think you should take this action' she didn't say a word, so in actual fact these children thought they had an ally in this teacher and it was working against me. (...) she really tried to undermine my authority over the two weeks and I tried to ignore it and not say anything and I had to go and see my tutor and say 'Look', you know, 'this is happening and I don't want to cause any trouble, what shall I do?' But it got to such an extent that, umm - in the end I had to give a boy a detention and she let the boy off the detention, so I then had to go above her head to the Deputy - it was pretty unpleasant....

This is another clear example of 'interference': Fay felt the teacher was openly challenging her authority with the pupils. Instead of supporting Fay in her teacher status in the classroom, this teacher seemed to Fay to 'sit back

saying, "there you are, I can cope, you can't", while all the time Fay felt her authority in the classroom being directly undermined. Letting a child off a detention was so unacceptable to Fay she was forced into an attempt to redefine the situation by seeking help from the Deputy Head.

'Interference' need not, however, take the form of direct action, it can involve inaction in various forms as this example from Fay's experience with her form teacher shows:

She wouldn't let me see the exercise books when I went in. I asked her several times and she kept making excuses, she'd got them at home, she never let me see them and when I actually stayed behind to try and go through the children's drawers to find them, umm she then told me the next day that I wasn't to go through the children's drawers 'cause it was, umm, impinging their privacy. So it took me a full week to be able to get to see any of the English books really, in any quantity and then I had to go into another classroom when everyone was at home and look at the English books in there.

Again it seems that Fay perceived this as a challenge to her authority and status as a teacher. Fay felt she had a right to access to the children's books which the teacher denied her. In the face of this, Fay regarded her own somewhat devious tactics as perfectly justified, and defended herself by questioning the competence of the teacher:

I found the class had approximately four sides of appalling English really, umm, they'd written a story, this sort of thing but there didn't seem to be much structure to what they'd done ... and it was only when I'd been at the school a couple of weeks, of course when you start getting to know the staff and - well it's unfair really to blame the

teacher altogether. She was a lazy teacher. I don't think there was any doubt about that and the rest of the staff - umm, she was well known amongst the rest of the staff, but she was a very amenable type of woman - she was a Miss - this was her whole life and whereas that ... one felt that professionally she was probably lacking somewhat, it was very difficult because she - there was nothing you could dislike about her personally.

This account of the supervisory teacher, like that of Kathy's, suggests the teacher felt threatened by the student teacher. Implicit in Fay's account was the belief that the refusal to allow Fay as student teacher access to the class's written work was an attempt to cover professional weakness or inadequacy. This was Fay's perception of the situation, but it is of note that Fay not only questioned this teacher's professional competence but also her personal competence: 'she was a Miss'. The sexism implied by this comment conjures up the stereotype of the lonely schoolmistress who has nothing but her pupils to live for, despite the assertion that there was nothing dislikeable about her. Questioning 'professionalism' (whether in terms of technical competence or of personal and social characteristics) of teachers who interfered was common among the student teachers, especially where such interference was supported by unjustified criticism.

Becky, as we have seen, felt the final school experience was her least successful and she did not enjoy a positive and supportive relationship with the school staff. In particular, her relationship with one English teacher was very strained. Part of the basis for this conflict was interference. Becky told me this teacher did not seem to like her at all and was

'really awful' because not only did she sit in on most lessons but kept interrupting and saying 'Miss Kemp, can I make a point there?'. This in itself was bearable for Becky but the tension mounted when the teacher 'interfered' in a disciplinary matter:

... after the first kind of fortnight, I wanted to put some of them into detention ... so ... I don't suppose I was controlling them really properly if I had to put some of them in detention. But she made a big, well she made such a fuss out of it and it wasn't really that important and I think the fact that she went over and told them that they were really misbehaving, whatever punishment I had to give them, then she would double it and all of this - and they hadn't really done that much wrong and I think it spoilt my relationship with them for a while.

Becky accepted the criticism implicit in the teacher's action, in that she was unable to control the class. Neither the lack of control nor the pupils' behaviour in itself however, was sufficient to warrant the teacher's 'taking over' responsibility for disciplining the class. For Becky this was interference of the worst kind, because it was not only damaging to her self-image but also undermined the relationship she was trying to establish with the class. In effect her status and authority as a teacher with the pupils were threatened.

Becky had her own explanation for this teacher's action. Talking to me on the first day back in college after school experience was over, Becky said she had recently seen Katrina, a student who did her second school experience at the same school under the supervision of the same teacher.

Katrina, it seemed, had exactly the same kind of complaints against this teacher:

she kept interrupting Katrina's lessons and tried to tell her how to teach Drama, even though she's an English teacher not a Drama teacher ... Anyway, at the end of the T.P., Katrina was left on her own and she went into the lesson and said to the class 'Right, I'm taking this lesson, not Mrs Newman. I think she's a totally incompetent teacher and because of her I haven't enjoyed teaching you at all. She's totally spoilt all my lessons'.¹⁸

Becky went on to tell me she thought it more than likely that the class had repeated this to Mrs Newman when Katrina had left, and this was partly the reason for her treatment of Becky - 'student revenge' as she put it. I was unable to verify this account, it is likely that it is 'bull-shitting' (Mukerji, 1978), but all the same, Becky certainly regarded it as valid and implied the teacher had acted as she did because in some way she had felt threatened.

Interestingly, Becky intimated that she got her own 'revenge' on Mrs Newman at the end of the school experience when the class said that they preferred her. Such stories, which may have the makings of student myths, play an important part in helping the student teacher defend their self-esteem and teacher persona when under attack.

Of all the forms of 'interference' possible on the part of teachers there is one which student teachers vigorously condemn, perhaps because it is regarded as potentially the most damaging to personal and social identity. This is criticising the student teacher in front of pupils and thus treating the student teacher like a recalcitrant pupil. It

involves a direct loss of dignity, and what the student perceives as humiliation. Hopefully, this is a relatively rare occurrence, and in fact only one example was related to me. I have included it here because it illustrates in extreme form the power inherent in the teacher-student teacher relationship, and demonstrates the sense of professional and personal indignation that perceived abuse of this power can provoke. The student is Francis, and he is referring to a teacher in his last school experience school

... the Music teacher humiliated me in front of a class, on my preliminary visit.

MS: Oh, how did she ... what did she...?

Francis: Uhh ... she just said something which was uncalled for and the class just looked at each other and, uhh, laughed. I can't remember exactly what it was, but she did. The humiliation stands in my mind.

MS; So that was even before...

Francis: That was before I started. The umm, the week ... the first week she umm ... criticised me in front of a pupil ... Now that was respect lost then immediately. She also ... criticised me in front of a class and I lost the respect of that class ...

MS: Why was she critical of you?

Francis: My lesson - something that cropped up in the lesson - you should have done this; you shouldn't have done that - she did that in front of a whole class. Umm, one remark she made ... 'this school has a fine standard of music and it's not going to be lowered now'.

MS: Gosh, that's - that's insulting in a way ...

Francis: It was an insult, yes. She insulted me quite a lot ... It may be justified but certainly not to a ... nothing justifies humiliation in front of a class.

As an attack on both the teacher persona and on the individual's self-esteem, little could be perceived as more damaging.

Interference was a major source of potential tension and conflict in student teacher-teacher relationships. It was virtually always regarded as unjustifiable by the student. It was disliked strongly and resisted, not only as an attack on self-image and self-esteem, but also as undermining the students' teacher identity, particularly in the eyes of pupils. Student teachers defended themselves against these attacks in their accounts of such relationships by impugning the teacher's own personal and professional identity.

We have considered in some detail a number of examples of sources of tension and conflict in student teacher-teacher relationships, as defined by student teachers. These have centred around five themes: expressed cynicism towards teacher education and teacher educators; expressed cynicism towards pupils and teaching in general; covert criticisms of the student teacher; unjustified criticism and interference. In all these cases, student teachers have to a greater or lesser extent strongly resisted the implicit or explicit disapproval that was involved, whilst at the same time recognising the need to foster positive relationships with school staff. For many of the student teachers these were (especially when experienced in combination) significant factors influencing the 'success' in both objective (as

officially recorded in the formal assessment of the school experience) and subjective terms of the school experience. What we do not know from this exploratory study is whether such sources of tension are typically experienced by significant numbers of student teachers on school experience. At this point we turn to the implications of the analysis for our understanding of the process of teacher socialisation.

Resistance, accommodation and 'professionalism'

In all the examples presented above, the student teachers resisted the explicit or implicit critical censure involved, whilst at the same time recognising the need to engage in careful and tactful impression management based on strategic compliance and strategic negotiation (Lacey, 1977). The student teachers were very much aware that their status within the school in relation to supervising teachers in particular, was one of relative powerlessness. This stemmed not from their own inexperience and essentially temporary and subordinate position within the school, but also from their awareness of being subject to constant appraisal and assessment. Student teachers knew it was not only important to 'perform' well as potential teachers, but that it was also necessary to 'make a good impression'. For this reason they felt unable to challenge directly the cynicism school staff expressed towards college tutors, teacher education or that expressed towards pupils or teaching in general, but nonetheless rejected privately the validity of both the specific criticisms and the general attitude it reflected. In this way student teachers actively and

purposefully distanced themselves from some of the teachers they met in schools and used them as negative reference groups. The role of negative reference groups in the identity construction of teachers has been raised in Chapter 4 and discussed by Nias (1984, 1985), Pollard (1984) and Sikes, Measor and Woods (1985). All emphasise individual teachers' concern to defend and maintain their self-image. This has been a theme throughout this study and is again of considerable significance to our understanding of student teacher-teacher relationships. The student teacher's sense of personal identity and their investment in a social identity as potential teachers is extremely vulnerable and intimately bound up with what happens on school experience. In particular, student teachers have an acute need for personal affirmation and thus vigorously resist challenges to their self-image. School experience is always potentially challenging to the defence of self.

Although the occupational culture of teaching places strong emphasis on autonomy and individual teaching in closed classrooms, and as Lortie (1974) has noted, teachers are to a large extent free from collegial restraint, this is not the case with student teaching. The process of assessment and evaluation are institutionalised in school experience, and require accountability and collegial influence. Nonetheless, student teachers do make very definite distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate criticism. Such distinctions, as illustrated in the examples above, suggest the existence of implicit and taken-for-granted rules underwriting school experience supervision from the student

teacher's perspective. Just as implicit rules concerning the conditions under which pupils accept the legitimate authority of the teacher pertain in classrooms (Nash, 1974; Meighan, 1978; Werthman, 1971), so there are rules concerning the conditions under which student teachers will accept as legitimate the critical appraisal of supervising teachers. Such rules are related to the student teacher's fundamental need to preserve their personal and social teacher identity. Sources of tension in student teacher-teacher relationships as perceived by student teachers were both cause and effect of challenges to their self-image as potential teachers and in some cases were perceived as attacks on the student's self-esteem. Preservation of self-esteem and protection of teacher identity were key concerns of student teachers and strongly defended in the face of perceived attack.

In one sense this is not at all surprising. Numerous studies of pupils of all ages have shown that children do not like teachers who threaten their dignity (Nash, 1974; Woods, 1979; Blishen, 1973). Pollard (1985a) argues that one of the most important interests-at-hand of primary school pupils is retaining dignity as this is crucial for the maintenance of self and peer group esteem. Pollard further argues there is a close relationship between dignity and perceived fairness. Teacher censures regarded as fair would be accepted without loss of dignity, but 'unfair' assaults are deeply felt as personal attacks. Studies of secondary school pupils show the same concerns. The data presented in this chapter points to student teachers making similar assessments about the legitimacy of criticism made by supervisory teachers, resisting strongly those perceived as

attacks on self-esteem and the teacher persona.

Resistance to criticism defined as illegitimate rarely manifested itself in any open and direct conflict in interaction with school staff. Impression management was seen as far too important for survival for that to happen. Internalised resistance was more common. Student teachers accepted and indeed were positively oriented towards the assessment process within school experience and fully recognised their powerlessness in relation to staff and the inappropriateness of voicing anything other than positive evaluations of the teaching and professional competence they witnessed. To do otherwise was to risk alienating those who had considerable power in the assessment process. This was not to say student teachers were uncritical of the teachers and teaching they observed. Far from it, I was struck by the readiness with which student teachers commented critically and negatively on the professional competence of established teachers. Implicit in such comments was the notion of 'propriety'. In fact the image of the 'proper teacher' was very strong in both student teachers' and supervising teachers' expectations of one another.

As we have seen, both practising teachers (Sikes, Measor and Woods, 1985) and student teachers (Chapter 7) use the notion of the 'proper teacher' as a means of identity construction and as a means of differentiating one group of teachers from another. For Sikes *et al.*'s (1985) teachers, the main characteristics of the proper teacher centred on appearance, attitude to pupils, relationships with colleagues and teaching. These were significant characteristics in

evaluation of both student and practising teachers along with others such as attitude to teacher education and 'commitment'. Notions of the proper teacher serve not only as a means of identity construction but also as major criteria for teacher assessment. This is closely bound up with the strongly defended notion that teachers must not only be skilled technicians (that is competent in teaching techniques) but also 'professionals' - professionalism being defined in terms of taken-for-granted and unexplicated attitudes and interpersonal characteristics. As Nias (1981) has stated:

It is almost as if teachers with a serious occupational interest in the business of teaching have their own internalised list of rules of 'professional conduct' against which they judge themselves and others. (p.187)

Who could have more serious occupational interests in the business of teaching than student teachers and their supervising teachers? Student teachers, it seems, have internalised rules of professional conduct relating to implicit notions of propriety regarding teachers' 'commitment', attitude to pupils, teaching competence and the whole process of school experience supervision. Equally, it seems the criteria used to assess student teachers may relate to rules of propriety and 'professional conduct'. This study has not attempted a systematic examination of the criteria upon which supervisory teachers base their assessments of student teachers' competence, but the data reported strongly suggests such assessment has a social rather than a straightforwardly technical basis. Social judgements are legitimated in terms of a rhetoric of 'professionalism'. This was

highlighted in the comments made by Mardle and Walker (1980) on the college assessment of student teachers:

teachers and tutors no less than anyone else, are drawn towards others who are perceived to resemble themselves, to be 'personable', 'agreeable', or 'just nice' (...). We would expect also that tutors would be no more capable than teachers in eradicating social judgements from their academic evaluations. Such judgements are legitimised under the generic slogan of professionalism. The question of whether a student's conduct or dress or attitude or whatever, is professional, sometimes legitimises gross social and moral judgements. More often, however, the notion seems to be used to indicate that middle area between teaching and academic skills on the one hand, and affinity, or liking, on the other. (pp.115-6; my emphasis)

Mardle and Walker not only draw attention to the social basis of assessment (and implicitly the relationship of such judgements to notions of the 'proper teacher'), but also to the way in which such judgements are legitimised by reference to rhetorics of professionalism. This would appear to be further confirmed by the findings of H.M.I. (DES, 1982) that personal qualities including 'good relations with staff' and 'ability to fit in' are criteria used by schools in judging the performance of probationary teachers.

The analysis presented in this chapter suggests that student teachers, no less than seasoned teachers, evaluate their future colleagues by reference to criteria based on social and moralistic criteria of so-called 'professionalism'. This, it seems, is as much a part of the hidden pedagogy of teaching as control and autonomy. An important question which such an analysis provokes is how far do student teachers subordinate their several criticisms and resistances to staffroom culture and to the occupational culture of teaching in order to ensure success in terms of a favourable school experience report?

Although this study did not set out to test such a hypothesis, the data suggests student teachers are not uncritical of the teachers and teaching they observe in schools. This raises questions about our present understanding of the process of teacher socialisation. Most studies of this process suggest that student teachers quickly reject, or are able to resist, the more idealistic and liberal views assumed to be associated with the college and the teacher education course. Furthermore (although by implication and inference rather than systematic study), such writings suggest that student teachers are effectively socialised by their staffroom colleagues. Where 'resistance' occurs on the part of the student teacher, it is assumed to be towards the college and the education tutors, towards idealism and progressivism rather than towards the school, school teachers and their realism and pragmatism. The analysis presented here does not refute this; indeed earlier chapters give support to Denscombe's (1982, 1985) argument that classroom experience fosters a set of pragmatic beliefs which constitute a hidden pedagogy. Nonetheless, the current sociological understanding of the process of teacher socialisation can be shown to have failed to get to grips with the complex, contradictory and partial nature of that process. In particular it fails to consider that students enter teacher education courses with both pragmatic and idealistic beliefs and attitudes. Their self-image as potential teachers contains elements of idealism and pragmatism. Furthermore students will actively resist challenges to their ideal self which come from the school and the school

teachers. Student teachers neither totally accept - nor totally reject - definitions of teaching offered by teachers, but use their own idealism to provide a resource with which to resist challenges to their self-image and, more fundamentally, to their self-esteem. It is the resistance to staffroom culture in its widest sense which sociological understanding of the process of teacher education need to accommodate.

The analysis presented in this chapter also has implications for those theoretical attempts to understand teaching in terms of 'survival' or 'coping' and the development of associated strategies (Woods, 1979; Hargreaves, 1978; Pollard, 1982). The concentration of all these analyses has hitherto been on classroom survival, and, whilst perfectly understandable, this has meant a serious neglect of teachers' relationships with colleagues. I have argued that for student teachers, if not for all teachers entering new posts, staffroom survival is an important concern and an important aspect of teacher socialisation. For many, perhaps most teachers, this may be relatively unproblematic, but the necessity of developing 'survival strategies' is clear, at least for those student teachers who find themselves in unfriendly, even hostile staffrooms. Teachers have to learn to get by in the staffroom as well as the classroom.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted a preliminary analysis of student teachers' relationships with teachers. It has viewed such relationships as based on power differentials and thus as potentially conflictual. The analysis has focused on strained student teacher-teacher relationships, rather than those which are entirely harmonious, as a means of throwing into sharp relief the rules which structure that relationship from the student teachers' perspective. In analysing cases where teachers and in particular supervisory teachers have 'broken the rules' as far as student teachers' taken-for-granted notions of 'professionalism' are concerned, it has been possible to assert the importance of the successful negotiation of student teacher-teacher relations for survival of the teacher education course. Negotiating such relationships is often as unpredictable and fraught with difficulties as negotiating classroom encounters. However, whereas the classroom is assumed by the student to be a setting in which they must constantly strive to establish their definition of the situation as the valid one, the staffroom is a setting where accommodation is assumed to be more appropriate. Accommodation however, is relative and for some students in some staffrooms may involve a considerable amount of impression management.

In drawing our attention to the significance of the 'good opinion' of 'other teachers' for assimilation into the profession, Waller (1932) quoted at the start of this chapter, gave us an important insight. The chapter has drawn attention to the tensions and contradictions which make that

assimilation both complex and problematic for the new recruit:

MS: So what are the rewards of teaching?

Becky: I didn't feel like I'd got any rewards this time. Last time I felt that the rewards were that the staff, by the end of the teaching practice, I felt that the staff admired me a little bit ... they did ... they put me on a level with them - nearly. This time I felt that I was - I left the school as I arrived: I didn't progress at all, I stagnated this time and I felt that they didn't really think very much of me - the staff ...

MS: So does that mean in teaching generally one of the rewards is that you've got the respect of other teachers?

Becky: Yeah, because it's ... it's easy to say, you know, that it should be the children that are most important, but the children are all too eager to say 'That's great' and 'We really like you' and 'We wish we had you instead of Miss Crayon' - or whoever. You know, they all say that kind of thing. And I thought, 'cause children are fluctuating creatures, aren't they really - and I could just think by the time they get their other teacher back, they could be saying 'Oh thank God, we haven't got that student any more'.

MS: Do you think your ideas about teaching have changed over the year?

Becky: What were my ideas to begin with? I don't know, I think my ideas to begin with, with teaching was getting through to the children, but by the end of the year, I think that I'm talking too much about other teachers and what they think and I don't think they should

be able to - they're only the same as you
anyway really - I'm too concerned with
what other teachers think and I shouldn't
be really ...

MS: You mean you should be more concerned with...

Becky: With the children, yeah. That's what teaching
is isn't it, teaching the children, helping
them to learn new things or improve on the
ones they already know, not what other teachers
say ...

Notes

1. There are some case studies of experimental courses which involve practising teachers, e.g. Dreyfus and Eggleston (1979), and some other studies which solicit the views of students and practising teachers involved in school experience, e.g. Cope (1971) and Cohen (1967).
2. Rationals given in Haydon Park College Professional Studies in Education booklet.
3. All data extracts in this chapter are from interviews unless otherwise stated.
4. See Chapter 8 for a statement of these criteria.
5. Woods (1983) suggests that this might have the same function as staffroom humour in neutralising the stress produced by the formal requirements of the job.
6. Extract from fieldnotes: conversation with Julia a week before final school experience.
7. Cope (1971) in discussions with school staff about student teachers encountered 'dark references' to the existence of staff who disliked students - 'but these were always in other schools'.
8. This is not to say that they were uncritical of the college and the course.
9. See Chapter 8 for the professional studies tutors' use of this term.
10. This term is used by Miller and Parlett (1974) to describe students who actively seek out assessment 'cues' sent out by staff.
11. Rachel's comments imply a kind of 'partnership supervision'. For an experimental study on this see Ruddock and Sigsworth (1985).
12. Hargreaves (1980) points out that teachers often interpret and evaluate the conduct of colleagues in terms of whether or not it satisfies certain criteria of being appropriately 'professional'.
13. I was introduced as a colleague but took no part in the discussion.

14. Extract from fieldnotes.
15. It was never made clear exactly how Becky's dress was 'unsuitable'.
16. Extract from fieldnotes.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.

CONCLUSION

This study has been concerned with the social reality of teacher education. It is a study informed by the theoretical insights and concepts generated by symbolic interactionism, phenomenology and ethnography to direct attention to specifically qualitative aspects of social reality: the subjective perceptions, feelings, interests and understandings of individuals and their creative and strategic adaptations in response to perceived circumstances. As the study has been conducted by a single researcher, it has focused on selected aspects of an initial teacher education course provided by one institution.

The purpose of this conclusion is twofold. First, to bring together the material of the substantive chapters by selecting the main unifying themes which enable us to reflect upon the process of teacher socialisation. Secondly, to suggest further directions for research and raise issues concerning policy implications.

Perspectives

The theoretical approach adopted in this study regards the professional socialisation of teachers as a constant process of negotiation for shared understandings between student teachers, their college tutors and teachers and pupils met in schools. Each of these individuals and groups have both similar and significantly different concerns and

interests. These concerns and interests form the core of the individual's perspective, that is, the set of meanings and understandings by which they make sense of the world.

The focus of this study has been the teacher perspectives of student teachers and their professional studies tutors. There are, of course, variations in teacher perspective based on the unique biography, personality and background of each individual. Sociologically, however, it is the similarities and differences deriving from the fact that certain experiences, pressures and opportunities are shared by those in similar structural positions, providing a basis for a specific view of events, which are significant. In simple terms, for student teachers this means facing large numbers of 'real kids in real classrooms' with little in the way of appropriate experience and resources, and at the same time being subjected to a wide range of often contradictory, expectations and prescriptions about what should and should not be done. Such is the source of student teachers' ambiguous and transitional status which produces constant dilemmas and a potential for conflict which is inherent in the structure of the experience of professional socialisation. It is the process of socialisation into the teaching profession (which for the student began back in the primary school) that gives the framework within which a teacher perspective develops.

In describing and analysing aspects of the development of teacher perspectives among student teachers at Haydon Park College, a number of considerations were important. First, the distinction between 'educationist' and 'teacher'

contexts (Keddie, 1971) and between 'paradigmatic' and 'pragmatic' concerns (Hammersley, 1977) served to highlight different dimensions of teacher perspective and their foundations. The concerns of the educationist context were idealism, commitment and the goal of establishing 'good' teacher-pupil relationships. These were the paradigmatic elements of the teacher perspective, and as such we have seen them as crucially related to the development and maintenance of the students' personal and social identity as a teacher. This identity was underlain by implicit notions of the 'proper' teacher and the 'good' or 'ideal' teacher. In contrast, the teacher context was concerned with the development of pragmatic, common-sense knowledge, the basic foundation of which was school experience. Here the key concern was practical realism and focused upon control: the maintenance of classroom order. This was an immediate and persistent aspect of classroom reality which crucially influenced the way student teachers came to perceive teaching. Moreover, it was the practical issue on which they had to make decisions regarding their strategic action. For student teachers at Haydon Park College, the reality of classroom teaching was often experienced as a 'battle', and, not losing the battle was the main interest informing strategic action. In making these distinctions, it is possible to recognise the complex nature of student teachers' perspectives as multi-dimensional and operating on different levels, and also to recognise their relationship to both structural and cultural constraints (macro factors) and to situational and self interests (micro factors).

A second consideration was the 'negotiated' nature of teacher perspectives within a context of unequal power relations. Teacher perspectives develop and are modified through interaction in the college seminar rooms where tutors were the 'reality definers'; in school staffrooms where experienced teachers set the ground rules, and crucially, within classrooms where significant power was held by pupils. In all these contexts there were explicit and implicit attempts by each group to impose upon student teachers a particular definition of teaching. This was fundamental to the hidden curriculum of college-based micro-teaching sessions early in the course, and also of some of the critical incidents students experienced within schools, both in relation to teachers and pupils. The students' teacher perspective, in particular those aspects relating to pedagogy, classroom control and 'professional' behaviour were constantly subject to definition and redefinition by students, tutors, teachers and pupils.

Social context

Teacher perspectives develop in part as pragmatic responses to circumstances, particularly to direct classroom experiences, and, as such they give rise to strategic action. It has been recognised by a number of writers (eg. Banks, 1978; Burgess, 1983; Hargreaves, 1985; Pollard, 1985a) that one of the weaknesses of ethnography from an interactionist perspective is a failure to situate the analysis within a broader structural framework. It is

important to recognise that external factors structure college and school experiences. It would therefore be misleading to imply that the knowledge, perspectives and strategies of student teachers derive solely from their college and school experiences. Ideas and attitudes are developed by each individual within a wider social, cultural and ideological context and only then are taken into the classroom to be modified and developed further.

Attempts to understand and explain the links between macro and micro levels, between the processes of education and wider social structures continue to occupy sociologists (eg. Archer, 1979; Hargreaves, 1985). It has been beyond the scope of this study to present a comprehensive and systematic analysis of the wider structural context of teacher education in its historical, political, economic and ideological dimensions. The focus of this study has been the process of teacher socialisation, yet the analysis can only be understood against the background of the wider structural context. The study has emphasised the generally powerless structural position of the student teacher, not only of entering into an education system and training process which is socially and historically determined, but also in terms of their relationship with college tutors, schools and their staff, and even, to some extent, school pupils. From this recognition attention has been drawn to two significant aspects of the social context of teacher education.

I have highlighted features of the social context of schools and classrooms which structure the experiences of student teachers in ways specifically different from that of established teachers. In particular the intrinsic

features of teacher culture revolving around autonomy and isolation (Denscombe, 1985) were seen not to apply in student teachers' classrooms. For seasoned teachers these features give rise to a set of expectations about appropriate teacher activity within the context of a closed classroom with a consequent emphasis on the teachers' responsibility for the maintenance of classroom order. For student teachers however, closed classrooms are always nominally 'open'; direct appraisal is not a challengeable threat but a taken-for-granted reality; autonomy is limited; isolation impossible. Nonetheless, control remains a major concern, being a pre-condition of competent teaching, but it cannot be subjugated to teaching and learning activities. For student teachers survival is double edged: in order to survive the teacher education course, one has not only to be seen to 'survive' classroom encounters by establishing order, but to teach as well.

The second element of social context was apparent in Chapters 3 and 4, where the tutors' perspective was described and analysed in relation to pedagogy and classroom control. Here the importance of the hidden curriculum and the hidden pedagogy of teaching was emphasised. As Stones (1981), points out, student teachers have already had 'at least eleven years of first-hand experience of teaching before they start training and those experiences have a powerful formative influence...' (p.220). Indirect support for this view came from the analysis of student teachers' pedagogical perspectives at the start of their professional studies year. Drawing upon their common-sense knowledge of

teaching, the student teachers operated with a didactic and teacher-oriented pedagogical perspective which was defined as inappropriate by the professional studies tutors and they in turn sought to impress upon the student teachers an alternative pedagogical perspective.

Similarly much has been made of the internalisation of teacher models during the thousands of hours spent as a pupil in explaining student teachers' concern with control (Lortie, 1975; Petty and Hogben, 1979; Denscombe, 1982 and 1985). The concept of 'hidden pedagogy' has been used to explain why teacher education courses apparently fail to have any long-lasting influence. This study confirms the existence of such a pedagogy but takes issue with the assumption that teacher education seeks to challenge the hidden pedagogy. On the contrary, I have argued that the hidden pedagogy of teaching is reinforced by teacher education and indeed, may be regarded as an intrinsic part of the hidden curriculum of initial teacher education. This study of teacher socialisation at Haydon Park College has emphasised the ways in which the process of professional socialisation involves both continuities and discontinuities, reproduction and contradiction. While there is much evidence that the hidden pedagogy, deriving from the continuity of classroom experience, is reproduced from one generation of teachers to the next; there is also evidence that teacher education involves at least a partial redefinition of aspects of pedagogy concerned with teaching and learning.

Coping: identity and commitment

Establishing classroom order and a concern for control and 'good' teacher-pupil relationships are not undertaken just because that is what is expected of teachers, they are central concerns because they help teachers survive in schools and classrooms. Teacher education and particularly school experience and teaching practice are often talked of in terms of 'survival' and 'coping', but this immediately raises the question of what is to be coped with or survived.

The literature on teaching and teacher education puts forward a number of alternative answers to this question (see Chapter 1). The analysis of student teachers' survival problems presented in this study identified structural, institutional and situational aspects of survival, but particularly followed Pollard (1982, 1985a) in arguing that a persistent dilemma for student teachers is based on a question of maintaining a particular aspect of self-image compared with a more pragmatic adaptation to specific pressures or necessities: 'a question of commitment to an ideal self or acceptance of more pragmatic interests' (Pollard, 1985a, p.31). In terms of the distinctions made earlier, the pragmatic concerns of the teacher context can undermine or threaten realisation of the paradigmatic interests of the educationist context and so serve to challenge the student teachers' identity construction. This was apparent from the analyses of both classroom and 'staff-room' encounters: in short, pupils and school staff can represent threats to ideals and commitment.

Student teachers have to prove competence in order to

satisfy the expectations of significant others (tutors, teachers and pupils), but also in order to establish and sustain a teacher identity. In the classroom such competence centred upon promoting a 'good' teacher-pupil relationship, but achieving such a relationship proved to be elusive. Moreover, classroom competence was frequently undermined by routine illegitimate pupil-initiated noise. The 'reality shock' of school experience confirmed to student teachers that a 'working consensus' was 'something which has to be achieved, worked for and frequently re-established during the course of the working day' (Denscombe, 1985, p.10). Classroom order, felt to be fundamental to the establishment of 'good' teacher-pupil relationships was not stable, and routine disruptive behaviour on the part of pupils constantly and persistently threatened the student teachers' sense of competence and emerging teacher identity. Such threats necessitated strategic action in order to re-negotiate a fragile working consensus. 'Learning to cope', on this level was an essential part of teaching, but particularly difficult for student teachers. Inexperienced, and enjoying only a temporary and transitional status within the school, they had only four to six weeks in which to mutually negotiate with pupils ways of coping through a process of establishment. This was a major constraint with which student teachers must cope, and against which they had to work to demonstrate competence.

It is however, important to avoid overly deterministic understandings of professional socialisation (Cole, 1985) presenting student teachers as passively reacting to external

pressures and constraints. Adaptation is never a one-way process; negotiation, and more particularly resistance, are also possible. This makes coping an essentially subjective phenomenon.

This study has identified both pressures towards accommodation and adaptation emanating from tutors, teachers and pupils as well as situational and institutional factors, and at the same time considerable variation in the extent to which the student teachers conformed to or resisted such pressures (cf. Lacey, 1977; strategic compliance, internalised adjustment and strategic redefinition; and Sikes, Measor and Woods, 1985: strategic compromise). It was evident that early days in school contained for all students periods of stress and situations of potential conflict with pupils and sometimes with staff, that were fundamental in making or breaking students' teacher identity. Pupils have enormous impact on teacher identities. As a number of studies (e.g. Burgess, 1983; Woods, 1979; Riseborough, 1985; Sikes, Measor and Woods, 1985) including this one have shown, pupils are capable of frustrating and furthering teachers' paradigmatic interests. They are also responsible for challenging and confirming student teachers' emerging teacher identity: pupils are 'critical reality definers'. From the student teacher's viewpoint, the coping requirements of different lessons (and different schools, groups of pupils, lesson phases) varied considerably. It was when the coping requirements of a lesson were experienced and perceived as 'low' that the paradigmatic concerns of the teacher perspective, centred on pupil enjoyment and the

successful implementation of fraternising strategies, were realised and the student's teacher identity and commitment positively reaffirmed. It is through classroom interaction with pupils that students develop a sense of competence and commitment.

Power and control have much to do with the process of teacher education and their consideration is vital to an understanding of student teacher relationships with teachers in school. Teachers are extremely powerful reality definers, a position they gain from their status, their assessment role in teacher education and their capacity to define the situation in the classroom. As a consequence, for student teachers the successful negotiation of relationships with school staff is as important as those with pupils. The 'baptism of fire' in the classroom was crucial to the initiation process, but the key figures in that process were occasionally teachers, rather than, or as well as pupils. Like pupils, teachers were found to be sources of positive and negative reinforcement of the students' identity construction. Some students confirmed their own self identity by using teachers within their school experience school as negative reference groups and role models, that is, types of teacher with which they would not wish to identify.

In focusing on conflict and tensions experienced between students and teachers in schools, I questioned conventional understandings of teacher education which assume a relatively unproblematic integration of new recruits into homogeneous occupational culture. Such analyses are inherently superficial and unbalanced in failing to take

account of possible diversity in modes of induction into teacher culture and also of student teachers' resistance to challenges to their self-esteem and self-image. Thus we saw in Chapter 4 that while many students found the reality of classroom life at least initially exhilarating and identity-confirming, some experienced crisis situations in which their identities were 'at risk'. Moreover, while most students quickly and effectively learned to modify their pedagogical perspectives in line with definitions established by college tutors (see Chapter 3), many strongly resisted perspectives relating to teaching, pupils and 'professionalism' represented among teachers met on school experience. This was sometimes necessary in order to defend commitment and identity.

It is hoped that this study has developed the sociological analysis of teacher education and provided grounds for a reconsideration of the direction of research and policy. It is to these issues that we now turn.

Further research and policy implications

Writing in the British Journal of Sociology of Education, Atkinson and Delamont (1985) admonished sociologists for neglecting the processes of occupational socialisation of teachers, pointing to the sparseness of research, particularly of ethnographies, and to the theoretical and methodological limitations of the work which does exist. This study goes some way towards redressing that neglect by providing an ethnographic analysis of aspects of professional socialisation relating to a course of initial teacher education in a College of Higher Education. Inevitably, however, an exploratory study such as this raises many further questions and also leaves some aspects of the socialisation process out of focus. Further ethnographic research on teacher education might consider, for example, some of the following issues:

- a) the perspectives and strategies of subject studies college tutors
- b) the role, perspectives and strategies of school teachers in relation to the professional socialisation of new recruits. Comparisons between different groups and categories of teachers in different settings (e.g. primary and secondary) and different social contexts might also be considered
- c) the formal and informal criteria used by college tutors and teachers to assess 'professional' competence
- d) the careers of teacher educators

- e) student teachers' initial encounters with pupils and their use of 'coping' strategies in different contexts (eg. with different classes of children) and the development of strategies over the year of professional studies
- f) the significance of class, gender, ethnicity and age to the process of teacher education
- g) the curriculum of teacher education.

These are just some issues which might be addressed by sociologists interested in furthering understanding of teacher education. Such research would hopefully also relate to questions of policy in teacher education, at both macro and micro levels, that is, in relation to public policy and to the social policies which individuals adopt in their professional practice. It is to the policy implications of this and possible future research that we now turn.

Although this study raises numerous issues for debate in policy terms, I want to raise some very general considerations in the light of recent policy changes in teacher education. These will serve to support the argument that the way forward in improving the quality and effectiveness of both teachers and teacher education is the initiation of renewed debate between researchers, policy-makers and teacher educators.

The relationship between social research and social policy is both controversial and problematic (Finch, 1986). In the field of teacher education the relationships are

more complex than most. As we have seen in Chapter 1, much research in this field has been motivated by the desire to produce more effective teacher education and more competent teachers. This research has not generally produced results in policy terms, since the only consistent conclusions - at least until recently - were that teacher education was fundamentally ineffective and that criteria of teacher competency could not be agreed upon (Denscombe, 1982; McNamara, 1986). On the other hand, the most important and far-reaching policy changes in teacher education in recent years: the establishment of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) in 1984 and the publication of criteria against which initial teacher education courses would be assessed as a precondition of approval, revealed neither the influence of solid social research nor reasoned justification (McNamara, 1986). In the absence of research progress it seems that policy initiatives must fall back on assumptions embodied in conventional wisdom on teachers, teaching and teacher education.

This study has not only challenged the conclusions of many earlier understandings of teacher education, but has also attempted to set the sociological study of teacher education on new and potentially more fruitful foundations. In doing so the study has raised questions about aspects of that conventional wisdom which informs not only the policy but the practice of teacher education.

Conventional wisdom frequently remains implicit and taken-for-granted as self-evidently true. In attempting to

make it explicit, one inevitably raises questions and challenges its status as 'truth'. This study has gone some way towards doing that and in turn has implications for recent policy changes. Two examples illustrate this line of reasoning and suggest grounds for potentially constructive debate between policy-makers, social researchers and teacher educators.

The first example concerns the notion of 'professionalism' and its relationship to personal and social qualities in the assessment of student teacher competence for both college tutors and teachers in schools. CATE emphasises the importance of personal qualities in selecting students for teaching, and even though there is no firm research basis for any agreement on what personal qualities are appropriate for effective teachers, nor on how they might be identified, CATE has in effect attempted to prescribe the personal qualities of teachers. As Reid (1986) has pointed out, this comes dangerously close to implying that teachers are born not made. The view that personal and social qualities are fundamental to effective teaching was found in this study to be implicit in the assessment of new recruits. In Chapters 8 and 9, relating to college tutors and practising teachers, we found much emphasis on 'professionalism' which, it was argued, served to legitimate social and moral judgements of teacher competence based heavily on subjective impressions of individuals' personal and social competence.

This study has also shown the importance of classroom teaching experience for shaping the perspectives, identity

and commitment of new recruits. There is considerable emphasis in the CATE criteria on teaching experience: first the requirement that the staff of training institutions should have 'recent and relevant experience' of teaching in schools; secondly, the emphasis on involving experienced practising teachers in all aspects of teacher education from the planning and review of courses, the selection of students to involvement in training and assessment in college-based studies and school experience/teaching practice; third, a criterion which sets out the number of weeks which students should spend on school experience, but which has nothing to say about the quality of that experience. There are several problems with these provisions. The emphasis on teaching 'experience' stands in some contradiction to the logic behind the emphasis on personal qualities, for it implies that teaching competence comes mainly through practice on the job and contact with practising professionals. This in turn implies that those best (only?) qualified to initiate new recruits into the occupation are those who have proven classroom competence. The nurturing of strong links with schools and teachers is something which has been advocated for some years, and in itself reflects current 'good' practice in teacher education. However, it cannot be assumed that the increased involvement of practising school teachers will automatically improve the quality of teacher education, for as Chapters 4 and 9 suggest, the relationship between college, school and student can be highly complex and problematic. Finally, there is little recognition of the specific constraints of classroom

experience for student teachers as discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, particularly as they relate to the process of establishment and developing effective coping strategies.

The basic problem with the CATE criteria is that they focus on formal and institutionalised relationships, when in fact the 'quality' and 'effectiveness' of teacher education is to be found much more in its informal organisation, its interpersonal relationships and its hidden curriculum. As Hunter (1985) has said:

After all the forms are filled in, the teams of assessors hosted, and the increasing number of formal hoops jumped through, the quality of teacher training will still depend ultimately on the quality of student/lecturer relationships, the creativity of the informal student culture and the level of personal reflexivity and maturity attained by students to adapt and grow as initial teachers - and these cannot be legislated for.

(Hunter, 1985, p.101)

It is these micro-political aspects of teacher education with which this study has been concerned - those aspects which cannot be legislated for. In this sense the CATE criteria are largely irrelevant to the quality of teacher education. The challenge for teacher educators, researchers and policy makers lies elsewhere: in an agenda for research and reflexive debate which feeds into policy issues. The way in which the quality and effectiveness of teacher education will be improved is by increasing our understanding of the process itself. The potential lies in research which utilises a variety of methodologies, including ethnography. Imaginative and innovative research projects centred on the issues and problems already suggested would then hopefully inform policy-oriented

debate, at national, institutional and individual levels, on for example:

- a) the assessment of student teachers' 'professional competence'. This is recognised as highly problematic, yet both CATE and other DES proposals for teacher appraisal place great stress on the assessment of teaching competence, especially with reference to the personal qualities assumed to be relevant to teacher effectiveness. The problems and vagaries of assessment were recognised by tutors and students at Haydon Park College, but at the same time the influence of the hidden pedagogy on assessment was also taken for granted. We need to give far more consideration, in both research and policy terms, to the criteria of 'professional competence' and the meanings attached to 'professionalism' by student teachers, practising teachers and teacher educators. The possibility, for example, of involving students themselves in the assessment process has not often been raised, attention more often being given to the involvement of practising teachers.
- b) the links between teacher education institutions and schools, especially in relation to the quality of teaching practice, supervisory support and guidance. This study has raised many questions about the nature of relationships between student

teacher and practising teachers. We need to consider the ways in which we might promote shared understanding and a sense of partnership in order to establish positive and supportive student teacher-supervisory teacher relationships in schools.

The present changes and upheavals in the organisation and content of teacher education, the recent theoretical and conceptual developments in the study of other educational settings and the concern for more policy-oriented qualitative research (Finch, 1986), together provide strong grounds for remedying the sociological neglect of teacher socialisation. This study has gone some way towards that end, and will I hope contribute to renewed debate and further research.

APPENDIX

This appendix contains a more detailed discussion of methodological aspects of the study than is given in the text. Locating such a discussion in an appendix should not be taken to imply that the issues raised are peripheral or immaterial to the analysis presented in the preceding chapters. As the following will make clear, the conduct of ethnographic research is a social process inextricably bound up with both the substantive and theoretical concerns of the specific research project. The consideration of significant aspects of the research methodology is reserved to the appendix for organisational purposes (see Chapter 2). The aim is to present an account which allows for some evaluation of the study.

The fieldwork

The research on which this study is based involved approximately one year of part-time fieldwork from June 1981 to June 1982 at a College of Higher Education known here as Haydon Park College. During the fieldwork I observed and participated in the activities of a number of groups of student teachers, focusing for the most part on two groups, 28 students in all, who were intending to teach pupils in the secondary school age range. I conducted a number of relatively informal and unstructured interviews with students at three main points in the year (after each block of school experience) and also with their tutors towards the end of the fieldwork. These were all recorded. I also spent a

great deal of time chatting to tutors and students on an informal basis. In addition, I accompanied two tutors on a small number of visits to students on school experience and observed students 'at work' in the classroom. On these occasions, I sometimes sat in on discussions of students' progress between college tutors and members of the school staff. The fieldwork also involved the analysis of documentary evidence, including student records and course material.

The importance of reflexive accounts

This appendix has started with a very brief statement describing my research strategy, pointing to the use of all the qualitative techniques commonly associated with ethnographic fieldwork: observation, participant observation, informal and unstructured interviews and the collection of documentary material. However, such a statement says little about how the research was actually conducted, and by the criteria of recent developments in research methodology (Shipman, 1976; Bell and Newby, 1977; Roberts, 1981; Burgess, 1982, 1984a, 1984b, 1985a) is far from adequate as an account of the methodology of my study.

Conventional accounts of methodology often imply that fieldwork is one stage of the research process, involving the collection of data by means of a variety of techniques. This stage is assumed to be divorced from other aspects of research. Accordingly, these accounts ignore the way in which techniques interact with the research design, the production of theory, the analysis of data and ethical,

practical and political issues (Burgess, 1986b). Recent developments in research methodology suggest that research is a social process dependent on a complex interaction between the researcher, the researched and the research problem. This recognition emerged, in part, from the anti-positivism within the social scientific community of the 1970s concerning issues of value-freedom and objectivity. Many began to question the status of 'science' and 'scientific method'.

It is this recognition of the social nature of the practice of research that has given rise to the increasing popularity of what are variously called first-person, autobiographical or reflexive accounts in the tradition of Whyte's (1955) famous appendix to Street Corner Society. There are now a growing number of published accounts (Hammond, 1964; Habenstein, 1970; Shipman, 1976; Bell and Newby, 1977; Roberts, 1981; Bell and Roberts, 1984; Burgess, 1984b, 1985a, 1985b, 1985c) which focus explicitly on the experience of doing research and examine the relationship between theory, method, researcher and researched. Such accounts differ in focus and emphasis: for example, while Roberts (1981) considers gender issues in research, Bell and Roberts (1984) focus on the political context of research in the 1980s. Some accounts are simply 'good stories' where individuals 'spill the beans', while others attempt an analytical discussion of particular issues, often in relation to specific research settings like education. All however, attempt to link the process and practice of research by drawing attention to the problems that arise in the conduct of social research.

Although generally welcomed and praised as an attempt to 'open up' and increase our understanding of the way in which research is actually conducted, these accounts have not gone without criticism. It has been pointed out that they are inevitably reconstructions of the research process¹ and as such are necessarily retrospective and selective - in a sense they are beset by the very problems they seek to overcome (see Burgess, 1978; Burgess and Bulmer, 1981; Dingwall, 1980). Nonetheless, the importance of reflexive accounts cannot be overlooked, for as Burgess (1984b, p.6 and p.10) has commented, they 'do begin to demystify the ways in which research is conceived, funded, managed, conducted, written and published' and 'they demonstrate that there is no universal set of procedures involved in the conduct of qualitative research ... they do highlight the principles, processes and problems to which researchers need to be sensitised ...'. It is clear that much can be learned about the practice of research from reflexive accounts.

There is a second and equally important justification for reflexivity in writing research methodologies. This relates to the evaluation of the data, findings and conclusions of research projects, particularly in terms of their validity. The case has been summarised by Hammersley, who introduces his own reflexive account by arguing that the importance of such accounts:

begins from a recognition that the researcher always has some impact on the setting he or she is studying, that the selectivity necessarily involved in research activity will shape the data and findings, and that researchers are by no means immune to the effects of interests and values. These three features open up

research to a wide range of potential threats to validity, from reactivity of one kind or another to bias on the part of the researcher in interpreting the data. In this light the function of a reflexive account is to indicate the nature and likelihood of such threats, as well as outlining what has been and could be done to deal with them.

(1984b, p.41)

The following discussion of aspects of my research methodology attempts to be reflexive with these considerations in mind. In particular, such an approach is important, because the research was based on part-time fieldwork in an institution in which I taught, facts which must have significantly shaped the whole research process. As far as I am aware, there are no published autobiographical accounts from part-time researchers - or if there are, they have failed to draw out and make explicit the limitations and constraints this places on the research process. Reflexivity therefore becomes important in enabling the reader to assess the research findings as produced by a part-time teacher-researcher. Nonetheless, it must be emphasised that the account is subject to the core criticisms of reflexive methodologies: it is certainly a selective account, and it is also largely a reconstruction. It focuses on aspects of the methodology which were significant to the evolution of the fieldwork and shaped the analysis of the process of teacher socialisation presented in the text. The account is reconstructed in part from fieldnotes but mostly from recall. This is because I approached the fieldwork intuitively (Ball, 1984). At the time I was largely unaware that my activities 'in the field' in fact constituted

a research strategy.² I simply 'entered the field' and drew on my own personal capacities in the situations I met, being aware only in the vaguest sense, having read a number of ethnographies and a limited range of methodological literature, that I was engaged in 'negotiating access', adopting 'field roles' and developing 'field relations'. For this reason I did not really keep a detailed record of my research practice: concentrating on producing data, my research strategies were not explicated. I did not even appear in some of my first fieldnotes! I felt that I was simply laying down the groundwork of negotiating initial access and learning the formal organisational structure and culture of the college before the 'research proper', the collection of the 'real' data, could begin. This was, of course, naive, and it is only in retrospect from the complex inter-relationship of problems, theories and methods that my methodological approach can be explicated and assessed.

Accordingly, it must be recognised that in writing this reflexive account I have imposed a degree of order on what was in fact a messy, complex process. Similarly, I make no claims about 'coming clean'; insights there may be, but reflexive accounts ultimately cannot tell us how the research was carried out in practice. My intention is to simply highlight the eclectic nature of my research methods and some of the problems I encountered, in order to demonstrate the social nature of the research process and enable its validity to be assessed.

Establishing a research project: death and evolution

For most people doing research part-time, the major problem is one of time (Pollard, 1985b). The part-time researcher frequently has to fit research activities around other commitments. Since such research is often unfunded, the researcher may have to structure the research around the commitments and responsibilities of full-time employment. These will shape and limit the nature of the research in many ways. Formulating a research project becomes a matter of considering what is practicable. Even so, grand ideas and hypotheses are hard to abandon.

The practical constraint of time probably shaped the nature of my research more than any other factor, from research proposal, fieldwork relations, data gathered and its interpretation, right through to the writing up of the research. For this reason what I eventually did was quite different from what I actually proposed to do - my research intentions gradually changed, and large parts disappeared completely, simply because of practical considerations. To a large extent, however, this is in the nature of ethnographic research, particularly exploratory research of this kind. There are few preset ideas or intentions, other than the desire to find out what is going on. Nonetheless, one has to decide where and on what aspect of social life this fluid and open-ended intention will be directed.

In 1980, I held a part-time teaching post, and I decided to apply for registration as a research student. My main interests were in the sociology of education, particularly teacher education (an area where there seemed to be little

sociological research) and the education of women. I worked in an establishment which was engaged in teacher education, and I had recently completed a P.G.C.E. course in another nearby institution. My original research proposal was built on these facts of my biography. I wanted to conduct a comparative study of male and female student teachers in two institutions, one providing the B.Ed. route to teacher status, the other, the P.G.C.E. route. In a sense the 'where' delineated the 'what' in my fieldnotes. As Pollard (1985b) notes, for the part-time teacher-ethnographer circumstances dictate pragmatic decisions of this kind. However, long before I was ready to enter the field, I dropped the consideration of the P.G.C.E. course, and thereby the second institution. In terms of time available to do fieldwork, it was simply impracticable. This immediately cut out one half of the comparative element of my original research proposal. Yet more changes were in store as I began negotiating access to carry out the study in the institution in which I worked.

Negotiating access

Having spent some time reading around the research area of teacher education and socialisation, in mid-1981 I began negotiations to enter the field. In some ways, this could be regarded as easy. I was not attempting to enter an institution where I was unknown, nor one which was unknown to me. I worked in the College, I was even a member of staff of the Faculty in which I wanted to do the research. This meant I knew where to go and who to contact in order

to seek clearance and approval to do the research. However, these facts make the situation sound much more familiar than it actually was. Although I was formally a member of staff, this was only on a part-time basis; furthermore, my work was located on a different campus to the majority of faculty members. For these reasons, I knew few members of staff, and none of those engaged in teacher education work. The formal status of colleague, educationist and sociologist with proven credentials certainly helped in negotiating access to research settings, but to a large extent I was approaching strangers and an educational setting with which I was unfamiliar. Nonetheless, my membership of the institution I was intending to study helped open up situations for research, in that for example I was frequently introduced to teacher education staff as a colleague who taught on the other campus and was also conducting research. This served to identify me as a credible practitioner as well as a researcher and helped in establishing common ground on which to build rapport (Woods, 1986). However, conducting research in an institution where one works is most definitely not wholly advantageous. Familiarity can add a most pertinent dimension to the whole negotiation process and later to the research process. My anxieties concerning the negotiation of access were made particularly acute by the fact that I was formally a part of the institution I was proposing to study. What if I was refused access, what if they did not like me or accept the validity of my research project, what if approval was not forthcoming? If I was refused access, not only would the whole research project fall apart, but I could hardly run away swearing never to return! My

confidence as a teacher might also have been at stake.

It was with some trepidation that I approached the Dean of Faculty to seek his formal approval of the project. Much depended on this interview. In point of fact, the Dean was extremely supportive and helpful, even when I challenged his assumption that all sociologists gave out questionnaires, and informed him that this sociologist wanted to actually sit in, observe and even participate in classes. He said he would send a memo to members of staff indicating my intentions and to provide some formal avenue of access, but leaving it to my 'charm and tact' to negotiate entry to individuals' classes. He also provided me with a list of teacher education staff and a diagram showing the structure of the faculty, offered to lend me his own thesis on the history of teacher education, recommended some reading in this area and undertook to provide me with any other background information I needed later on. I regarded this interview as data of potential value to the development of the research. For example, he expressed concern about the high drop out rate in teacher education suggesting this was in part an effect of the way in which courses were organised. In his view students were alienated because there were few opportunities to build tutor-student relationships. This alerted me to the possibility that staff-student relationships might be important in the process of teacher education.

The interview took place towards the end of the summer term in 1981, and it left me free to negotiate with other members of staff for the intended fieldwork period during the academic year 1981-2. Since the end of the examinations

period in college left me with rather more free time at this point in the year, my supervisor and I decided it might be a good idea to spend some time in the field, getting to know the institution, the people and the course. Negotiations with individuals would now have to begin in earnest. I wanted to join some classes, meet students and staff, to find out how the B.Ed. course was organised and to establish initial relationships. To do all this I needed clearance and approval to sit in on classes and teaching sessions from the staff who took such classes. Nerves and panic struck again - large doses of bravery were required. In fact, I took what I felt to be an 'easy way out' and asked a sociology colleague to introduce me to some education tutors who happened to be in their offices and I negotiated with them a number of sessions I could attend in the next few days. My anxieties were unfounded: everyone was most helpful and interested in what I was doing.

The first taste of fieldwork

In the last week of the summer term 1981 I joined a number of sessions for B.Ed. students. I participated in a drama session on teacher types; I sat in on formal seminars with students completing their professional studies year and another seminar for students ending the induction course for professional studies. I was also invited to an 'end of term' session where food, drink, and entertainment in the form of a 'This is Your Life' sketch written and performed by the students for their professional studies tutor were

all provided. On each of these occasions I adopted what seemed to be the most obvious and natural role. For example in the drama session as one of about sixty taking part, it was easy to join in anonymously - indeed because I was not formally introduced to the lecturer actually taking the session until we broke for coffee, I was assumed by him to be a student and regarded as such throughout the session. I took my cue on the most appropriate role to adopt from the tutors whose classes I attended. Paul Brown introduced me briefly to his group of students at the start of the session by explaining that I was a colleague 'mainly teaching on the other campus, who is interested in doing research into initial teacher training and has come along to see what goes on'. In the tutor-led seminar which followed I simply adopted the role of observer and listener. Another tutor, Mary Sprive, after welcoming me to the session, attached me to a group of students by saying 'would you like to sit here with Christine and Jeanette, they'll look after you', and left it to me to explain to them who I was and what I was doing.

In general, I joined in sessions and took opportunities to chat to students about teaching, their experiences of the past year on school experience and their job prospects for the coming year. There was no pre-determined plan for my questioning, I simply engaged individuals or small groups in conversation about what I took to be their probable concerns; for example I quickly discovered that whether or not it was advisable to stay on at college for a 4th Honours year was a fruitful topic of conversation. In addition to

attending sessions I spent some time talking to tutors and asking questions, trying to gain some understanding of the basic structure of the B.Ed and following up topics of conversation which at that time seemed particularly relevant to my research concern on gender differences. For example, I recorded in my fieldnotes part of a conversation with the Head of Applied Education. She had just explained to me that third years, having finished their final teaching practice, were now coming into college to read their reports:

...and they seem to expect criticism ... I find it very sad. They seem to expect to be told what they are not doing right and find it difficult to accept praise ... when they come to read their reports, they colour up - at least the girls do. I think it's part of their conditioning; in school they're always told what's wrong ... and yet all through the course they are told the importance of praise, but they don't seem to be able to accept it themselves. 3

At this time my expressed intention was still a comparative study of male and female student teachers. Part-time research is however, inevitably the story of research shaped by constraint and fortuitous circumstances. This suggests research is not a static process, but is constantly evolving. As one enters the field, the research design is reformulated and refined to a greater or lesser extent. In the case of my own work, its direction was to change quite fundamentally once I had entered the field.

There were four years to the B.Ed. course and I had only one year in which to complete the fieldwork. It seemed impracticable to focus on all four years, so my study became narrowed to the third year of the course - the professional studies year, at the end of which the student teacher, if

successful, gains qualified teacher status. The reasons for focusing on this year were both fortuitous and principled. My initial contacts with education tutors were with those mainly concerned with professional studies, and it was mostly third year classes which I joined. The professional studies year was also relatively self-contained and distinct from the other years. Moreover, this year of the course was the most significant for students in that it involved them in school experience. For these reasons it seemed to be central to the professional socialisation process. Even in this third year however, there were ninety students in six different groups.

My intention had been a comparative study of male and female student teachers. I soon discovered, however, that of the ninety students in the professional studies year, only eleven were male, and five of these were - to put it politely - 'very mature students'. This was, I decided, an inadequate basis for comparison. As a consequence the comparative element of the research in relation to gender, became a very subordinate theme. My research problem thus grew more specific while becoming broader: an exploratory study of the process of initial teacher education. The focus of study became the two groups of student teachers training to be subject specialists in secondary schools.

Selecting the two groups for study was less a matter of systematic theoretical and methodological choice than of intuitive pragmatism. Since my own teacher training was with this age-group, I was both more interested in them and

felt I had a clearer understanding and empathy for what they would be doing. Of equal importance in my decision to focus on these groups was the fact that the tutors were particularly friendly and supportive of my research endeavour.

Issues of selectivity and significance

This account of how my work developed, narrowed and focused, clearly demonstrates that the research process does not fit the linear model often presented in methodology textbooks (that is, research design followed by data collection followed by data analysis). Instead the research process is presented as much more open-ended, opportunistic and messy, a process in which the whole project is constantly defined and redefined, not merely by the researcher, but also by the researched and by the opportunities and constraints offered by the research setting and the circumstances of the researcher.

The account also demonstrates that decisions about where to observe, whom to observe and what to observe were not governed by rational, systematic or 'scientific' criteria (cf. Strauss et al., 1964 and Spradley, 1980). Here again, accounts in methodology texts emphasise the importance of systematic sampling of time, events and people, and careful choice of a research setting - all governed by theoretical criteria. But how far does this take place in practice? Burgess (1984a) comments that it is rare to find systematic discussion of the principle of selection used in a particular study. Ball (1984, p.75) points out that 'sampling is not something that is normally talked about by ethnographers -

except for theoretical sampling (...) yet in studies of complex institutions, like schools, the fieldworker is engaged in both explicit and implicit forms of sampling'. The very nature of fieldwork where the sociologist is a tool to explore the social world, necessarily involves selection - this may sometimes be governed by explicit criteria but more often is a result of the simple fact that as a lone researcher one must make decisions about where to be, who to listen to and what to record and so on.

Burgess (1984a) acknowledges that research sites may be selected where individuals are willing to co-operate, and where the situation is convenient for the researcher, possibly because contacts have already been established. Both Burgess and Ball describe how these factors to some extent influenced their choice of school. Most studies however, imply that the research site was selected to fit the research proposal. In my own case, the process was much more one of mutual influence: to a large extent the selection of the research site shaped the research design. The balance between theoretical and methodological considerations on the one hand and practical considerations on the other will clearly vary for different researchers, but the balance may shift more towards the latter for the part-time researcher. Having selected a site, the researcher is still confronted with decisions about what, who and when to observe. Several writers emphasise the importance of time sampling, that is sampling activities and events which occur over a period of time, as well as the activities and events which occur at particular hours in the course of the day. However, the

possibility of time sampling may be denied to the part-time researcher who is obliged to fit the fieldwork around other commitments, and other means of covering events and situations which cannot be observed at first hand must be found, for example the use of interviews of respondent diaries. Inevitably, the picture built up in any study must be partial as it is never possible to cover all the events, situations and people involved in a given research setting. Systematic sampling of locations, time, events and people (Burgess, 1984a) may for the ethnographer and especially the part-time ethnographer, be rarely possible and in its place, selection of a largely unprincipled and unintentional nature may be the actual practice (Hammersley, 1984b). In common with other ethnographic researchers, my interactions with individuals or groups of individuals were not equally distributed; I associated more with some than with others, I developed closer relationships with some than with others and in this sense my sampling was opportunistic (Burgess, 1984a).

As I became more concretely aware of the practical constraints and opportunities of working within this particular research setting, so my work became more focused and general themes took shape. At first however, in common with at least some other ethnographers (eg. Hammersley, 1984b; Woods, 1986), I felt myself to be floundering, and experienced acute anxieties about my own ethnographic skills and the feasibility of the research itself.

Having entered the research setting, the question confronting all beginning ethnographers, and a source of considerable anxiety, is how does one know what is significant? I

alternated between two dominant feelings at the start of the fieldwork: either that nothing of any significance had occurred or that so much of possible significance had occurred I was and would be in danger of being inundated with data. The problem for ethnographers in educational settings is that of 'making the familiar strange' (Delamont, 1981) and getting behind the 'taken-for-granted' (cf. Atkinson, 1984 and Becker, 1971). In practical terms it was a question of fieldnotes - exactly what should I take note of? In the event, I initially resolved the problem in the most basic way by trying to record as much as possible - or at least as much as my memory, time and motivation would allow me to deal with. This in itself I found a daunting task. Since my intentions regarding the direction and focus of the research were unclear, I attempted to record a chronological account of events, interactions and conversations as they happened. Sometimes, as for example when I was simply observing in the micro-teaching sessions or when joining in was very passive as in formal seminar sessions, I was able to make fairly copious notes on what went on and what was said. Such notes were invaluable when it came to writing up a more detailed account later that day. At other times it was either impossible or inappropriate to take notes, as for example when I was fully participating in activities, chatting informally or observing students in school. At those times it was necessary to write fieldnotes almost entirely from memory. Describing events I found relatively easy, but keeping a record of conversations was much more problematic. Conversations with staff and with students were totally informal and unstructured and covered

a considerable range of issues concerning the college, the course, student teachers and teacher education in general, as well as the specific problems of individuals. I found it impossible to record such conversations verbatim, instead I aimed at an account of the content interspersed with short quotations. Gradually as the research and my memory became more focused, I was able to record more or less verbatim extracts of significant conversation.

However, at the start of the fieldwork I was very concerned not only about the time it was taking to write up fieldnotes and what I felt to be massive lapses of memory, but also about the impossibility of gathering all the relevant and useful data. In the latter case I was aware that because of my teaching commitments I would be unable to attend any of the subject studies classes which were part of the professional studies course, and it was possible I was missing out on very valuable data here: the 'elsewhere syndrome' as Woods (1986) has termed it.

It has since struck me as strange that the difficulties of writing up fieldnotes are rarely mentioned in the literature, autobiographical or otherwise. It is, in my experience, virtually impossible to write up in detail and with a high degree of reliability the events and conversations of an unstructured social gathering. Fieldnotes are necessarily subject to the limitations of memory and conscious and unconscious editing, and these are always possible sources of inbuilt bias.

Glaser and Strauss (1964) have suggested that field researchers engage in theoretical sampling. This entails

analysis of data during the course of the fieldwork to generate theory and a shaping of the data collection process to develop that analysis. The end result is grounded theory. This was the consciously supposed basis of my own approach to fieldwork: my noble intention was to produce grounded theory. However, pressure of time - it not only takes hours to produce comprehensive fieldnotes and even more hours to transcribe taped interviews - meant analysis of data was only superficial during the fieldwork period: a periodical search for emerging themes in the accumulating data. In practice my approach approximated more to what Hammersley (1984b) has called 'dredging' which he defines as 'choosing a setting and collecting all the data available in it relevant to particular foreshadowed problems' (p.56).

Participant observation: research roles and relationships

Virtually all fieldwork involves the method of social investigation referred to as participant observation. Becker, who has used and written extensively on this method of research, summarises the task of the participant observer:

The participant observer gathers data by participating in the daily life of the group or organisation he studies. He watches the people he is studying to see what situations they ordinarily meet and how they behave in them. He enters into conversation with some or all of the participants in those situations and discovers their interpretations of the events he has observed.
(Becker, 1958, p.652)

As a research strategy, participant observation is particularly well suited to eliciting an understanding of situations from the point of view of the participants themselves, rather than simply the view of an outsider. Furthermore, as a

general strategy, it has the advantage of flexibility concerning the researcher's participation, field roles and relations with informants.

There is now a substantial literature on research roles and relationships vis-à-vis participant observation. We can distinguish, for example between overt and covert participant observation (Bulmer, 1982) or 'active' and 'passive' participant observation (Schwartz and Schwartz, 1955) or follow Gold (1958) who distinguishes four ideal-typical field roles: the complete participant; the participant-as-observer; the observer-as-participant; and the complete observer. In the complete participant role, the true identity and motives of the researcher are not made known to those being studied, with the result that covert observation is involved. Such covert research is generally regarded by sociologists as 'a form of research enquiry which should be resorted to only where it is not possible to use other methods to obtain essential data' (British Sociological Association, 1982). However the distinction between secret or covert research and non-secret or overt research cannot always be sustained - in fact, Roth (1962) maintains that such a distinction can never be sustained, as it is never possible to tell the researched 'everything', and in public settings such as schools, it is impossible to indicate to all the participants that research is being done. In research in educational settings for example, it is common to inform and seek approval for the research from the staff, but this consideration is not normally extended to the pupils or students. In my own case I tried to inform all tutors and

students with whom I was most involved about the motives for my presence, explaining that I was carrying out research on teacher education. Surprisingly this vague justification seemed to satisfy most individuals, at least initially. Of course, many of the students and teacher educators did ask questions about what I was doing and so became more aware of the precise nature of the research. Inevitably, the extent to which participants can and should be fully informed of the exact nature of the research raises ethical questions, and here I have to state that there are some individuals who appear in this study behind pseudonyms, who have little or no idea of their presence.

Gold's participant-as-observer role is the one most frequently adopted by researchers in the ethnographic style. Researcher and researched are aware that the relationship is one of research, and so the researcher's observation activities are not concealed, but subordinate to the activity of participation. This has been the main role adopted by many of the school ethnographers (Hargreaves, Lacey, Ball, Burgess), and indeed it is probably the form which comes closest to describing my own general strategy. My informants were aware that I was there because I was doing research, but as far as possible, I participated in what went on: I sat in on lectures, I joined in group activities and tasks and I chatted over coffee and lunch.

The literature on participant observation suggests that Gold's final two roles are rarely used. The observer-as-participant role involves situations where contact is openly public but brief and specific. While some formal observation

may be possible, participation is limited. The complete observer role involves no joining in at all by the researcher, the purpose being to eavesdrop or reconnoitre a social setting.

The problem with Gold's four-fold classification and the way it has been used by others to classify research roles has been clearly put by Junker:

it is made to appear that the four roles can be sharply distinguished and that the field worker will find himself cast in one and only one position, with its opportunities and limitations as indicated ... the practising field worker may well find his position and activities shifting through time from one to another of these theoretical points, even as he continues observing the same human organisation.

(Junker, 1960, p.38)

Burgess (1984a) quoting Junker, points out that the field worker may find that these different roles will be used in different phases of the research or at different moments in the course of the research. Roles are developed throughout an investigation and each role with each informant is constantly negotiated and renegotiated. Moreover, in any given social situation, one's role may be quite different to the variety of participants in that situation. For example, when I visited students in schools with their college tutor, my role in relation to different individuals and groups was quite distinct. With the tutors, my role was largely that of participant-as-observer, in that my presence was recognised as for research purposes but this was subordinate to my temporary and limited participation in the tutor role of visiting and observing a student teacher in school. I was introduced to school staff as a colleague come to see how the work of a professional studies tutor was

done. With the teachers and student teachers met and visited in school my role was closer to that of observer-as-participant: I was present to observe but only very briefly. As far as the school pupils were concerned, my role, since it normally consisted of silent stranger in the back of the classroom, was simultaneously more akin to both that of complete observer, which it was obvious I was doing, and that of complete participant in that my true identity and intentions were never made known to them. But this in itself underestimates the complexity and dynamic nature of researcher roles, for on each school visit (as in other research settings) my role changed in the course of interaction with each participant.

Burgess (1984a), following Janes (1961), discusses how the researcher's role develops through different phases with different individuals in the research situation. Burgess implies that the researcher's role relationship with informants develops progressively through a number of phases (whilst recognising that some role relationships never get beyond a particular phase). Unfortunately, this fails to do justice to the complexity of the research situation in which one's overall role relationship of participant-as-observer may develop progressively, but at the same time, according to the specific research situation - for example, lecture, seminar, micro-teaching session, coffee break - the research role may vary quite considerably. This suggests that to some extent the research relationship and research role with any one informant can vary independently.

This seems to be, in part, what Gans (1968) is getting at when he suggests that the activities and roles of participant observation can be classified in terms of the fieldworker's emotional relationships with the people studied. The three roles he distinguishes in his own work were useful in clarifying my own research roles. First, there is the total participant, where the fieldworker is completely involved emotionally in a social situation and only when it is over becomes a researcher again, writing everything down. This most clearly describes my own role on days set aside in the professional studies course for 'school based activities'. For example, one day was devoted to the 'perception of teaching as the organisation of learning experiences' in which groups of students were required to work through twenty 'activities' such as problem solving, drawing, 'inventing' and copying. I joined a group of students and participated fully in all the activities we worked through - and wrote it all up that evening. However, as Gans makes clear, such participation is never total because psychologically one is a researcher twenty-four hours a day and thus on the margins of the social situations and relationships studied. Gans then distinguishes the researcher participant role where the field worker participates in a social situation but is personally only partially involved, and so can function as a researcher. This is probably the most common role adopted in research of an ethnographic nature, though the extent to which one is researcher rather than participant or vice versa can vary substantially. For example, in college sessions devoted to micro-teaching, I was formally a member

of the group for which the lesson had been prepared, and participated as such in handing around material, paying attention and doing anything the group was asked by the 'teacher'; however, when it came to evaluating and analysing the videoed micro-lessons, I withdrew from active participation, I never proffered my own views and in fact consciously adopted an 'observer' strategy in order to be able to make detailed notes on the discussion of each micro-lesson. Here I was adopting Gans' third role; that of total researcher, which involves observation but no personal involvement in the situation. This also fairly accurately describes my emotional relationship when I observed students teaching in schools.

Participant observation: substantive roles

So far I have discussed field roles from the point of view of the researcher and in the academic terminology of sociological method. There is another way of viewing field roles and relationships: from the point of view of the researched and in substantive terms. Such a discussion is essential to any reflexive account of method and also to an evaluation of the extent to which the participant observer disturbs the situation investigated.

Some researchers have taken on an established role within the research setting. Several school ethnographies have been conducted by the sociologist becoming a teacher for at least part of the time in which they are in the school. This gives the sociologist a legitimate position within the institution and can help facilitate good research relationships with the school staff. On the other hand, it can involve

a whole host of problems and difficulties, especially when the focus of the research is the pupils' perspective rather than the teachers' (see Hargreaves, 1967; Lacey, 1970, Ball, 1981; Burgess, 1983). Others, attempting to avoid the problems associated with a teacher identity have entered the research setting with no established role except that of researcher (see Willis, 1977; Woods, 1979). Llewellyn (1980) and Spindler (1974) even attempted to take on participant pupil roles in their studies. Clearly, none of these strategies is without problems and many educational ethnographers have seen the decision to teach or not to teach as a crucial one. This has much to do with the nature and focus of the research and the obvious limitations on the possibility of 'passing' and participating as a pupil.

In my own research, decisions about substantive roles and identity were both more and less complicated. First, I did not adopt any established role for the purposes of the fieldwork, and in this sense I was more an involved researcher (Woods, 1979) than a participant in the strict sense.⁴ For me, and I suspect for most ethnographers, there was constant movement back and forth between the various roles and statuses that I held, or more particularly were attributed to me, within the research situation. It is interesting to note that handbooks on field research stress the importance of the construction and negotiation of a research identity, without recognising that the individual researcher inevitably possesses a number of overlapping, and sometimes conflicting, identities. This seems particularly important in the case of the part-time researcher. At

different times in the course of the fieldwork, and with different informants, I was variously: formal researcher; fellow student teacher; teacher; colleague and friend. This variety of roles and identities sometimes provoked role conflict, but perhaps more often led to a degree of ambiguity in relationships with informants. Centrally and crucially, my research relationships were complicated by the fact that I was a trained teacher employed as a lecturer in the institution in which I was carrying out the fieldwork, yet consciously cultivated identification with the students.

While virtually all knew that I held a teaching position in the college and that I was engaged in research, and so these were my primary identities, I participated in much of what went on as a student. For example, in lecture or seminar sessions I sat with the students, and like most of them, took notes (only my notes were rather different in form and content), or actively became involved in the tasks and activities set up for the students by the tutors. In addition, at coffee and lunch times I went with the students to the canteen and chatted with them informally. My identity as a student teacher, however, was never complete. I did not attend all their sessions, I did not do the private study and course work they were required to do, and, most importantly, I did not have to live through the trials and tribulations of micro-teaching or of school experience. Furthermore, the fact that most of the students knew that I was a trained teacher, also made my identity ambiguous. Not only was I asked about my own experiences, both of teaching and of teacher

education, but I was sometimes asked to give advice and support. This I gave quite freely, talking about my own experience of teaching practice, though emphasising that it was somewhat different from what they were about to do. In this way I was regarded as a non-threatening expert. This basis of common experience also helped to establish a degree of empathy between the students and myself, and so positively contributed to the development of research relationships. There are, however, negative aspects of this kind of research relationship - it can lead to role conflict. For example, as preparation for their first school experience, the students had to prepare lesson plans for the first week's classes. The last day in college before the start of school experience was set aside for students to work on lesson plans. Some students had barely got started and were not sure how to go about it. Becky, for example, was very anxious and claimed that she had forgotten how to set lesson plans out. She asked one or two of the others what they had done, but then she turned to me and asked: 'What do you do Marie, for your lesson plans?' I recall swallowing hard: it was clear that Becky assumed I did lesson plans and that I could help her by explaining how I did them. I had to reply that I did not do detailed lesson plans in the way she was required to do, and quickly referred her to Mike, who appeared to be making good progress with his plans.

Assessing the data: quality versus bias

Ethnographers are much concerned with the quality and validity of data, those who are critical of ethnographic methods are correspondingly much concerned with 'bias'. For both, these issues depend to a large degree on the quality of relationships the researcher achieves with the researched. This is conventionally seen in terms of involvement and detachment; the ethnographer stressing the importance of involvement for understanding, the critic emphasising the necessity of detachment for 'objectivity'. Nonetheless, as the research process is more and more accepted within the social scientific community to be a social process, so the literature on participant observation discusses in detail what is variously described as the 'control effect' or 'reactivity' (that is, change in the behaviour of the researched directly but unwittingly produced by the research process or the researcher). While this has sometimes been seen as an inevitable side-effect of field research which should be guarded against, it is more common today for such reactivity to be seen as inherent in all research:

A social scientist is always a person with his own personality, idiosyncracies and faults. One suspects that as a participant observer he makes more impact on the people he studies as an individual person rather than as a researcher. Most scientists disturb what they observe to some degree, but in the case of the social psychologist or sociologist the extent of this distortion is relatively larger. A different researcher in the same social setting would make a different impact on the people and they would react to him in different ways.

(Hargreaves, 1967, p.205)

Hargreaves alerts us to the possibility that the researcher's individual characteristics can influence the research. Others have drawn attention to social characteristics such as sex, age, ethnicity and experience (Burgess, 1984a) as potential influential factors on the research process. The extent to which these factors influence the research process is a neglected issue in methodology (though there is a growing literature on the influence of gender, see for example, Roberts, 1981; Wax, 1979), yet it is an important issue, central as it is to all research projects, and to questions of validity and reliability.

I have already suggested that my status as a part-time research student and a part-time teacher, as well as my personal experience of teacher education, undoubtedly influenced my field roles and identity, and indeed the whole research process. These central aspects of my status and experience placed practical constraints on my fieldwork, shaped the kind of data I acquired, and gave me a particular perspective which structured initial research questions (albeit implicitly) and the selection and interpretation of data.⁵ This is yet another aspect of the problem of making the familiar strange. One feature of this was that I constantly compared in an evaluative way the teacher education course at Haydon Park College, and the course I had taken two years previously. The latter was often a point of reference for my understanding of the course at Haydon Park College, and also for initiating conversations with members of staff and students.

These then, were factors which certainly had a considerable influence on my research, and to a large extent were beyond my control. I want now to consider three other social characteristics which are relevant to an assessment of the quality, the validity and reliability of my data. The first two are ascribed characteristics: gender and age, and thus beyond manipulation; while the third is to an extent 'manageable': dress.

My status as a young female researcher⁶ had both advantages and disadvantages in the development of field relations and interactions. It also contributed to the aforementioned ambiguity in my identity, and an initial strategic problem of those with whom I was to identify. My position as teacher and member of staff, formally gave me a status nearer that of the education tutors than that of the students, but throughout the fieldwork period, I deliberately cultivated a 'student' rather than 'tutor' identity (though I made no explicit attempt to pass as a student). This was primarily because the main focus of my research was teacher education from the perspective of the students rather than the tutors, but also because my age, sex and appearance made me 'feel' a closer identity with the students than the tutors. My junior status as a member of staff and relative lack of experience in teaching also contributed to this psychological 'feeling'. My gender and my age further influenced my field relationships: I developed closer relationships with the young female students than with the more 'mature' male students. In fact, I felt intuitively that the quality and depth of data I obtained both informally and

in more formal interview contexts was greater from the female students, regardless of age, and from the younger male students, as opposed to the mature male students. With me, as with the other students, the mature male students were always friendly and polite, but generally more distant, aloof and paternal - more than once I was addressed as 'dear'! Consequently I felt I never made more than superficial research relationships with these students, and their interview data was less reflective and, perhaps, less valid in subjective terms. On the other hand, my age, sex, appearance (see below) and status worked for me in developing relationships with the majority of students and I feel the data reflects this. Being young and female were the 'right' social characteristics for this research. I am sure had I been older and/or male, the access to data would have been more difficult and the research process quite different.

All this is to do with what the textbooks call 'establishing rapport' but it highlights the way in which certain aspects of research relations are more or less manageable. One way to establish one's identity and role in the research context is the management of appearance, notably dress.⁷ For me, establishing an identity at the start of the fieldwork was crystallised in terms of two practical questions: what to wear and what to do at coffee and lunch breaks.⁸

In terms of dress, my conflicting identities meant I was never psychologically comfortable in what I wore. On days when I had a class either before or after a period in the field, I was obliged to dress relatively formally in skirts and blouses, smart trousers and sweaters. This meant that when I was actually in the field, I felt recognisably

non-student, if not obviously a member of staff. On those occasions when I did not have other commitments, I dressed more casually in jeans and jumpers, casual trousers and T-shirts, and felt recognisable as a student. At the same time I felt uncomfortable with the tutors, and if for some reason I was invited to the Senior Common Room, I felt conspicuous.⁹ Things were different when I visited students in schools with their tutors, then I made sure I was dressed conservatively as a non-student: smart skirts, blouses, jackets, tights and well-polished shoes. As for the students on school experience, student attire would have been totally inappropriate for us both.

Of course, it is difficult to assess the direction and extent to which these factors result in distortion. It is clear from the above that the quality of the researcher's data is always dependent, not only on methodological technique, but also on ascribed social characteristics, and what Goffman (1959) calls the 'presentation of self'. These factors, in their complex interaction, help shape the research process and certainly affect the quality of the data. For many social researchers, working within the positivist tradition, the temptation would be to argue that these are indications of bias, and that they adversely affect both the validity and reliability of the data. However, that is to imply the possibility of eliminating the effect of such social factors in the cause of 'objectivity', and to ignore the ways in which such factors positively enhance the validity of the data. Research is a social process; data is a social product. The evaluation of ethnographic, if

not all research methodology, must start from the recognition of these tenets. This is not to discount the possibility of bias and distortion within the present study, but it is to recognise that research is not conducted within a social vacuum.

Interviewing: semi-structured conversation

'Conversation is a crucial element of field research' (Burgess, 1982). In this statement, Burgess makes explicit an element of field work that is frequently taken for granted. Conversation, as he makes clear, is both a source of data and method of social investigation for the researcher. Textbooks on research methodology tend to leave implicit the role of conversation when discussing 'participant observation' techniques, and quickly subsume conversation to 'interviewing' in a separate chapter. Sometimes the impression given is that talk is only a feature of interviews and has no place in fieldwork.

Interviews are usually classified on a structured-unstructured or standardised-unstandardised continuum. The former represents a formal encounter in which the wording and order of questions is predetermined and the same for all respondents. The result is much comparable data which can easily be analysed in quantitative form. The latter type of interview is a much less formal encounter in which the shape and form of the interview is determined by the individual respondent - the interview taking more the form of a focused conversation. As Palmer has said of the unstructured interview:

[it] assumes the appearance of a natural interesting conversation. But to the proficient interviewer it is always a controlled conversation which he guides and bends to the service of his research interest.

(Palmer, 1928; quoted in Burgess, 1982)

Of course, most interviews fall somewhere between these two extremes. But, just as the dichotomy of unstructured-structured interviews is not at all clear-cut, so, as I suggest above, the distinction between fieldwork, or participant observation and interviewing may also be misleading. Conversation or informal interviewing is central to fieldwork, providing an inevitably rich source of data and a technique to acquire specific forms of data.

In my own research, much of the data came from informal conversations of this type, sometimes consciously initiated by myself but often from conversations initiated by students, either with myself or with one another. I was therefore constantly informally interviewing the students and staff of the college; but, in addition, and more frequently, it was in fact the case that they were interviewing themselves. The topic of conversation at coffee, over lunch, at the beginning and end of sessions was nearly always teaching and their own concerns as student teachers. From the minute I 'entered the field', I was immersed in data arising from 'talk'. The main problem with this kind of data, as suggested earlier, is simply that of remembering it and writing it up carefully as soon as possible after the conversation or conversations have occurred. I constantly regretted the fact it was neither ethical nor practicable to be permanently wired into a hidden tape recorder.

Having suggested the distinction between participant observation and interviewing in practice may be false, my own training in methodology led me to perceive such informal conversation as part of my fieldwork role eliciting one type of data; and the interviews I conducted as eliciting a different kind of data. In this sense I did fieldwork, but I also conducted what both the students and I regarded as fairly formal interviews, but what the textbooks would label unstructured and unstandardised interviews. This raises an interesting question which, perhaps surprisingly, is rarely discussed in the literature. As sociologists, we make our decisions about research technique and prepare for our research within a highly technical and specific frame of reference: a result of our training and education in formal 'methods' courses. We come 'automatically' to think in terms of structured and unstructured interviews, participant and non-participant observation. These are the tools supposedly available to us, and we make a decision to use either one method or the other. However, since there are no 'recipe books' for ethnographic research, once in the field we proceed more by intuition and opportunity than by reference to scientific rationale: we do our fieldwork, we conduct our interviews with a vague consciousness that we are doing participant observation or unstructured interviewing. In point of fact, these are no more than vague, technical labels - what actually takes place may not necessarily fit the label at all. Moreover the perception of an interview by the researcher and by the respondent may be quite different. I was not aware of this until I came to write

something about my research methodology. I came to describing the types of interview I had conducted - the terms unstructured, structured, formal and informal, conversational and so on, all seemed to fit, yet somehow none fitted quite precisely. This was partly to do with differing perceptions on my part and on the part of my respondents with regard to what it was to be interviewed, and, to some extent, the context of the interviews. My purpose in conducting the interviews was two-fold:

to get data on what I had been unable to observe (notably the students' school experience); and

to get systematic and comparable data on this and other aspects of the course, trying particularly to get at perceptions and subjective feelings.

To this end, I had a list of topics and questions which I wanted to cover, but my intention was to be flexible; I wanted to get at what was important to the students. In textbook terms, the interviews were to be informal and relatively unstructured, but the context of the interview and the expectations of the students imposed a degree of formality. First, I wanted to tape the interviews: to me there was no practical alternative. Taking notes during the interview would have been distracting and detrimental to the quality of the data; taking notes in retrospect would be virtually impossible, given the depth and range of the interview. It is recognised that tape-recording interviews imposes a degree of formality on the situation. Moreover, when the interview takes place in a large store cupboard, the situation becomes entirely contrived, you are engaged in interviewing,

not a 'natural, interesting conversation'. Moreover, in asking students to give me an interview, it became evident that I was setting up a series of expectations about what would take place: quite simply, the students expected me to ask questions - they expected to be interviewed. In effect then, my interviews took the form of a rather odd, semi-structured conversation in a formal interview setting.

I conducted recorded interviews at three points in the year of fieldwork. In effect, after each period of school experience, I interviewed a selection of students with whom I could arrange a mutually convenient time. I started each interview by asking the students to tell me something about the school in which they had completed the period of school experience. Some did so quite freely, using their own terms; others needed some prompting about size, buildings, teachers, catchment area, and so on. I felt these to be relatively innocuous questions designed to get them talking freely. As far as possible, the rest of the interview covered a range of topics: the first day and class, relationships with other teachers, 'good' lessons, disasters and so on. Generally, I let the students tell me about their experiences; my questions were to guide and regenerate the conversation along a few foreshadowed themes. Most of the students, however, enjoyed talking about themselves and their experiences and I encouraged them to talk about whatever came into the conversation. This is what I have previously referred to as 'odd', semi-structured conversation.

In terms of usable data, these interviews were very successful, but I think it important to say I found this kind of interviewing very difficult, and I do not think I

was particularly good at it. It is difficult to isolate why this should be so, but I think it has something to do with the conflicting objectives of the interview, the nature of the subject matter of the interview, and, again, my identity as a researcher and as a teacher.

First, in carrying out the interviews I wanted to find out what had been important to the students and what they saw as significant in the process of becoming a teacher - in short to get at their subjective reality. At the same time, I wanted reasonably systematic and comparable data. However, I think these two aims were often in conflict. For example, it emerged in a number of initial interviews that several students had experienced conflicting expectations from college tutors and teachers in their respective schools, and given that this was a theme in the literature, I wanted data on how students dealt with this conflict (if they had indeed experienced it). It was fine if this information emerged 'naturally' in the course of the interview but if it did not, then I tried to probe for it, but in doing so the question arises of how far I was imposing my own criteria of what was important. Several students had introduced this point and it seemed to me a significant theme, but if I raised it in the interview context was I imposing my own definition of significance; on the other hand if I did not raise it, was the data just waiting to be triggered by a comment or question?

Following my theoretical and methodological training, I also felt it important in these interviews to get behind the hidden, taken-for-granted assumptions, to question the

'you knows' and the 'obvious'. However, this again is something which I found tremendously difficult, not least, because a great deal is taken for granted and assumed when talking about something like teaching, and because the nature and pace of the interview made probing difficult. My student teachers were mostly very enthusiastic about talking - once they got into the flow, they kept going, and frequently went off at tangents; some even had very strong ideas about what it was important for me to know. As I have suggested, this was, in part, what I wanted but it made probing difficult and even counter-productive. I suspect that my task may even have been hampered by the fact that I was both researcher and teacher. I was not an outsider to teacher culture and it was thus assumed that I knew what went on in classrooms. But equally my identity as a researcher influenced the flow and nature of the conversation. Remarks such as 'I don't know whether this is relevant', 'I don't know if you want to hear about this', or 'I don't know whether I should tell you this', were common. Despite this the students talked freely and at great length. The inevitable result was that when I came to analyse the interview data there were numerous ideas, phrases and experiences which I wished, in retrospect, that I had pursued or probed further. For example, an early interview with Rose produced the following exchange:

MS: How did you find the children at the school?

Rose: Well, they weren't malicious in any way, umm
 ... sometimes they'd sort of play up because
 I think they knew we were students but...
 [pause]

MS: There were no problem kids?

Rose: No, not really. You know a few would try it on, be a bit cheeky, but they didn't mean anything by it.

MS: How did you find the staff?

In retrospect I wish I had probed further about the meaning of phrases like 'playing up' and 'trying it on' as these were also used by other students. There is a sense in which it is assumed that everyone knows what such phrases mean, especially those who have experience of children in classrooms. This made the task of analysing the data during the period of data collection doubly important.

Handling the data

By June 1982 I had amassed a considerable amount of data: thick files of fieldnotes and some detailed transcriptions of interviews, and several files of documentary data. It should be noted however, that like others, I began analysis of data well before I had finished transcribing interview material. I made two copies of the transcripts and fieldnotes, always writing on just one side of the paper. Periodically I read through sections of this data, using the blank side of the paper to make brief notes on the data, about what seemed significant, what needed following up, further questions and initial interpretations and analyses of the data.¹⁰ At different points in the period of data collection, I perused the data in terms of emergent themes. This was very much an intuitive process. I did not systematically index fieldnotes at this stage - not that I made a policy decision not to, it was

simply something I never quite got around to doing - I simply read them through a number of times and extracted what seemed to be a number of significant themes around which I might organise chapters of the thesis. This was often a matter of producing structure and coherence from a mass of unstructured and largely unsystematic data. The influence of sociological theory and perspective was obviously central to this process. In this sense the themes were 'constructed' rather than simply emergent. It is difficult to describe this part of the research process, perhaps because it is a part which draws substantially upon one's sociological imagination and creativity, and because it involves so many disparate influences: themes were constructed not just from the raw material of the data but from my own past experiences as a sociologist and as a teacher. As has been previously emphasised, there are complex links between data collection and analysis, and theoretical and methodological approaches.

In delineating a number of themes, I had a rough picture of how the various parts of my research and the data fitted together, which gave me a starting point in the long process of writing up (though there were necessarily many themes, major and minor, which went undeveloped, and thus much data eventually deemed irrelevant). Nonetheless, as I began to write up the data into papers and chapters, the structure and shape of the themes were constantly redefined as new ideas developed, stimulated by discussion or by some new publication in the field. It was always the case that, while some of the themes were clear in my mind with a definite

structure, others remained hazy and only took on an intelligible structure in the process of writing up.

In writing up, I began with those themes where I felt I knew what I wanted to say and where the structure of the paper or chapter was fairly clear in my head. I then went through my data in more detail, noting relevant material - usually with a coloured pen. From this I was able to make a rough plan on paper of the structure and various sub-sections of each chapter. This then gave me a number of sub-themes which I used as a basis for categorising data. For example, in Chapter 4 I argue that there are three patterns which describe different students' first school experience. The three patterns 'emerged' from preliminary readings of the data; they then worked as categories for ordering relevant data. Using separate sheets of paper for each pattern, I first assigned the students to one of the sheets, then I noted either the relevant page number of the fieldnotes or interview transcript, or, if the extract was short, simply copied it down. I also listened to untranscribed tapes and transcribed relevant extracts. Of course data often fitted more than one category and many selected extracts were never used. I had to select and in each case my criteria were relevance, validity, typicality and clarity.

Conclusion

The purpose of this account has been to consider the social nature of the methodology underlying the research, and to highlight some of the issues and problems experienced in conducting ethnographic research. I am aware that I have not succeeded in presenting a complete reflexive methodological account. Many aspects, for example, ethical concerns and relationships with key informants, are only briefly touched upon. This is not because they are considered less important aspects of the present study, but simply because the writing of a reflexive account is so immense. What I hope to have provided is an insight into the task of conducting ethnographic research on a part-time basis; to make the reader aware of possible sources of bias or distortion arising from the research process or the researcher, and to give some basis for those who wish to understand the social context of sociological research. Finally, I can only end, as I began, by echoing the sentiments of Hammersley (1984b, p.62);

Social research will always be a learning experience, and so it ought to be. These are simply the lessons I think I have learned from my research.

Notes

1. Burgess (1984a) suggests that this can, in part, be overcome if researchers keep detailed diaries of their own research practice.
2. It is also relevant to point out that the research was conducted by someone with no previous experience of fieldwork. This is significant particularly in terms of reflexivity, since like teaching, one inevitably learns through practice.
3. Extract from fieldnotes.
4. Woods (1979) uses this term to indicate that he had no accepted role in the institution but was involved in terms of relationships entered into, his previous experience as a teacher and identification with the educative process.
5. It is also significant that my own teacher perspective and practice was considerably influenced by my field experience. Just as my 'other' identities influenced the research, so the research had a significant influence on my professional life. At the very least it made me much more reflective and experimental in my own classroom teaching.
6. In practice one cannot divorce the effects of being young and female from the effects of being a bona fide teacher - the various aspects of one's identity do not have separate effects - it is one's total and complex identity that influences research relations.
7. Rarely discussed in either field manuals or auto-biographical accounts, although see Delamont (1984).
8. I took a policy decision early on to go with the students at coffee and lunch times, in order to avoid being labelled 'staff' and also because they were an important source of data.
9. There are definite taken-for-granted and deeply internalised assumptions about what is appropriate dress for a teacher and for a student.
10. Burgess (1981, 1982, 1984a) distinguishes between substantive, methodological and analytic fieldnotes. Although I did not consciously distinguish between these different forms, in effect this was really what I was doing.

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